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With Captain Halls. Compliments

agon Corfu 9th Octr. 1849.

Berwick
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THE

NEMESIS IN CHINA,

COMPRISING

A HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR IN THAT COUNTRY;

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

THE COLONY OF HONG-KONG.

FROM NOTES OF

CAPTAIN W. H. HALL, R.N., F.R.S.

AND PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS BY

W. D. BERNARD, ESQ. A.M. OXON.

Third Edition,

WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,

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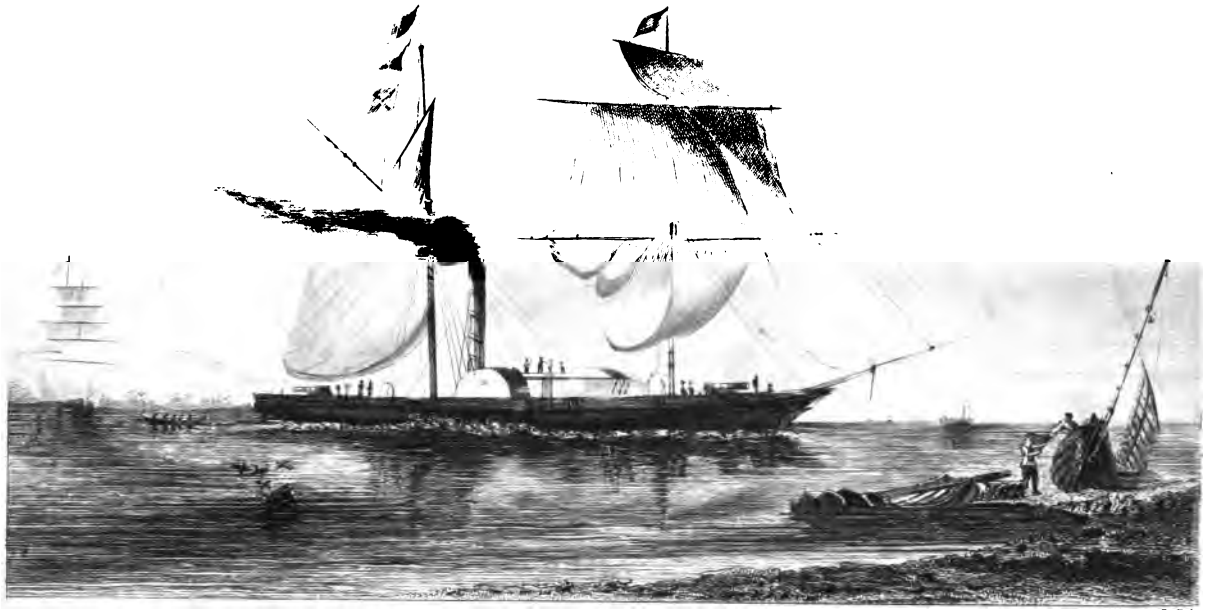

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

THIRD EDITION.

At a time when Steam-vessels have become an essential portion of that Navy,

> "Whose flag has braved a thousand years
> The battle and the breeze;"

when the comparative efficiency of iron and wood as the material for constructing them is engaging the most serious attention of the Seaman, the Shipbuilder, and the Engineer; it has been thought useful to place this work, combining an extraordinary variety of interest, in a cheaper and more accessible form, before the younger members of all the professions which it concerns.

The Nemesis was the first iron Steamer that doubled the Cape of Good Hope; she bore a conspicuous part in the Chinese War; and the merits of the full, clear, and instructive narrative of her experiences and operations, from the luminous pen of W. D. Bernard, Esq.—himself, if not an actor in, at least a spectator of, the stirring scenes which he describes—was fully appreciated by the public in general on its first appearance.

But a more special interest must attach to this work for the professed seaman and the engineer, on account of the details of the difficulties, emergencies, and imminent dangers to which the Nemesis was repeatedly exposed from accidents and weather, and

for the mechanical skill, ingenuity, resources, and perseverance, so eminently displayed by Captain Hall, his officers, and crew, amidst perils that appeared almost insurmountable. On these subjects, the book holds forth an impressive lesson to the young navigator—never to despair under the most appalling circumstances; and, were it for no other reason than this, it amply deserves a place on his shelf beside the classic voyages of an Anson, or a Cook, or any of the most celebrated maritime worthies of other days. Need we add that, for a youth destined for the naval profession, or just embarking in it, a more appropriate companion could scarcely be found?

Built at Birkenhead, the Nemesis was destined to make an early acquaintance with dangers, for, on the morning of the second day after her departure, she struck upon the rocks at the entrance of the Bay of St. Ives, in Cornwall, and sprung a leak, which, had not the vessel been divided into several water-tight compartments, could scarcely have failed to prove fatal to her. The damage having been temporarily repaired in Mount's Bay, she pursued her voyage to Portsmouth to complete her equipments, and finally sailed on the 28th of March, 1840, for her at first unknown destination, and on the 6th of April arrived at Madeira. Leaving the Bay of Funchal on the 9th, she touched next at Prince's Island, a Portuguese settlement, where she remained refitting and preparing for sea till the 23rd, and then paid a brief visit to St. Thomas, another Portuguese island, nearly under the Line. Thence standing away for the Cape of Good Hope, she entered Table Bay on the 1st of July.

Several repairs being completed, and a supply of coal taken on board, the Nemesis again started on the 11th of July, and entered the Channel of Mozambique, which she had express orders to pass through. Here she encountered a most tremendous storm, in which she sustained such alarming damage that the vessel threatened to separate amidships; and nothing but the united and most persevering efforts of officers and crew enabled them to apply a temporary remedy, and to reach Delagoa Bay on the 27th of July. There, in English River, the important permanent repairs required by the vessel were undertaken, and these, with various

preparations, being completed, on the 17th of August the Nemesis took leave of that Portuguese establishment, chiefly known as a mart for the slave-trade, and reached Mozambique, the principal settlement of that nation on the east coast of Africa, on the 31st. After an interchange of various civilities with the governor, the Nemesis steered her course for Johanna, the largest of the Comoro Islands ; the late and present ruler of which have shewn a particular attachment to the English. Of the transactions between the latter and Captain Hall, and of the state in which he found the island, a very interesting account is given in this narrative.

Leaving Johanna on the 5th of September, the Nemesis shaped her course for Ceylon, across the multitudinous archipelago of the Maldive Islands, and, after touching at one of the easternmost, reached Point de Galle on the 5th of October. All mystery respecting the destination of the vessel was now at an end; for here Captain Hall received orders to proceed without delay to the mouth of the Canton river, for the purpose of taking part in the military operations against China. Notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts, eight days were occupied in necessary repairs and in putting on board coals, provisions, and stores of all kinds, and on the 14th of October she once more put to sea.

Ten days carried the ship to the valuable and beautiful little island of Penang, "the gem of the eastern seas," and three more down the Straits of Malacca to Singapore, which, as a free port, has attained a great and rapidly increasing commercial importance, and the large Chinese population of which give it much the air of a town of the Celestial Empire. On the 4th of November, the Nemesis resumed her voyage, and steering past Luçonia and Borneo, reached the harbour of Macao on the 25th of November, exciting unusual curiosity as the first iron steamer ever seen there.

Scarcely had the Nemesis joined the naval force collected at the mouth of the Canton river, before the Commander-in-Chief, Adm. Elliot, was obliged, by severe illness, to resign the command to Sir Gordon Bremer. By the departure of the admiral, Captain

Elliot was left sole plenipotentiary; and, having found it impossible to come to any arrangement with Keshen, the new Chinese Commissioner, and successor to Lin, the British forces proceeded, on the 7th of January, 1841, to the attack of the forts of Chuenpee and Tycocktow, the first encountered in ascending the river. On this occasion, the Nemesis, having conveyed a portion of the troops to the point of landing, assisted in shelling the fort of Chuenpee with such success that in less than half an hour the British flag was seen flying upon it. The simultaneous operations against Tycocktow, on the opposite side of the river, proved equally successful. In the total destruction of the war-junks, under Admiral Kwan, on the same day, the Nemesis took a distinguished part.

Pushing up the river, on the following day, Captain Hall came to a large town, where his "devil-ship" produced extreme consternation, and where he found two deserted war-junks; one of these grounded and was left behind, the other he took down the river, rejoined the squadron, and the Nemesis received the thanks of the Commodore for the valuable services which she had rendered.

After the reduction of the forts of Chuenpee and Tycocktow, the attack of Anunghoy had just begun, when Admiral Kwan sent off proposals for the cessation of hostilities, which led to an armistice, concluded the same day. Notwithstanding the animadversions made on this forbearance, there can be no doubt that Captain Elliot felt convinced that he was most effectually serving his sovereign and his country in adopting the course which he pursued.

Going down to Macao in the Nemesis, the Plenipotentiary there issued a circular, announcing the preliminary arrangements concluded, and urging the necessity of conciliatory treatment of the people and a becoming deference for the country, on the threshold of which we were about to be established.

Formal conferences were held, according to agreement, for settling certain points with Keshen, who obtained a delay of ten days for the preparation of a definitive treaty, while Captain Elliot hastened the evacuation of Chusan. This interval the Chinese

commissioner employed, in obedience to the orders of his imperial master, in providing means for the immediate "extermination of the foreigners." The treaty sent up to the Bogue in the Nemesis for his signature was not returned at the appointed time; and a proclamation posted on the walls of Canton offered a large reward for the heads of Captain Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer. Captain Hall took occasion to reconnoitre the defensive preparations making by the Chinese higher up the river; his report served to convince the most incredulous of the insincerity of the imperial commissioner; but it was not till after the promulgation of the Emperor's edict commanding the foreigners to be rooted out entirely that Captain Elliot relinquished all hope of conciliation.

In all the operations at and near Canton, Captain Elliot's energy and thorough knowledge of the inner waters and channels forwarded the expedition much, and he was distinguished for his personal courage on board the Nemesis and other vessels, and also on shore. The success of our forces in all their attacks produced overtures from the enemy, and our Plenipotentiary, invariably influenced by a humane and conciliatory policy, agreed to another armistice for three days. About this time, the arrival of Major-General Sir Hugh Gough, from Madras, to take the chief command of all the troops, was a subject of much congratulation; and the British forces became concentrated by the junction of those from Chusan.

Preparations were now made for an advance upon Canton, with the intention of blockading all the approaches: it being a favourite notion of Captain Elliot's that, by cutting off its internal commerce and supplies, he could compel the authorities to come to terms, without the necessity of a further resort to arms. The same generous forbearance was displayed by him in action, when he was solicitous that peasants and mere spectators should not be injured, but that hostilities should be confined as much as possible to the servants and property of the government.

On the resumption of hostilities, the Nemesis took her full share on the 25th of February in the reduction of the Bogue Forts, the grand bulwarks of the great city of Canton, and in

subsequent operations against other works of the Chinese. Having received on board Captain Elliot and his suite at Macao, the steamer, accompanied by three boats only, ventured to explore the Broadway, or Inner Passage, a channel of the Canton river, never before traversed by any European vessels; and, after destroying several forts, works, and war-junks by the way, entered the main river, and joined the light squadron at Whampoa. The value of the services rendered by this vessel in that successful expedition, was duly acknowledged by Captain Elliot, who witnessed them, and by the Commodore in his public dispatch.

On the 18th of March, the Nemesis assisted, with her usual activity, in the capture of all the remaining defences in advance of Canton, which left that city at the mercy of the conquerors, and once more the British colours were hoisted at the Factory. When, after the conclusion of the truce, Captain Elliot returned to Macao, the Nemesis was, for some time, constantly employed in carrying dispatches, as well as officers, from one place to another.

Meanwhile, the arrival of numerous Chinese troops at Canton, and extensive hostile preparations, indicated a disposition to renew the struggle. So threatening were appearances that all the forces, naval and military, that had moved down to Hong-Kong, were again ordered up to Canton, whither Captain Elliot himself proceeded in the Nemesis. So strong were the evidences of the hostile intentions of the Chinese, that this vessel, the only one at hand, was kept ready for action with guns loaded, and moved close to the Factories for their protection.

At length, in the night of the 21st of May, the Chinese proceeded to the execution of their plans for destroying the English shipping and factories by means of fire-rafts. The scheme totally failed, but led to the discovery and destruction of an immense number of war-junks, fire-rafts, and boats of every kind. This important service was rendered exclusively by the Nemesis, assisted only by a few boats from other ships.

Meanwhile, at Canton, the factories were plundered, and the

buildings themselves destroyed by the Chinese soldiers and the mob. The British forces soon afterwards arrived, and for the second time made themselves masters of the city.

On the restoration of that grand mart of the empire to the Chinese authorities, the Nemesis, with the rest of the fleet, withdrew to Hong-Kong, where she had to encounter a tremendous typhoon, which destroyed many ships. The Nemesis not only rode out the hurricane without injury, but her Captain and crew had the satisfaction of saving afterwards many poor fellows on the wrecks from a watery grave.

The arrival, on the 9th of August, of Sir Henry Pottinger as sole Plenipotentiary, and Sir William Parker, as Commander of the fleet, was the prelude to more energetic measures than heretofore; and a few days afterwards the whole fleet, with the land forces, sailed for Amoy, a large commercial city, about 300 miles to the northward of Hong-Kong. Here the Nemesis was, as usual, employed in landing and covering the advance of troops, while her captain, with a small party, went to assist in the attack on shore. After the reduction of the place, she was actively engaged in the destruction of works and forts upon surrounding islands.

On the 5th of September, the fleet left Amoy for the Chusan Islands. During this passage, Captain Hall, with his own vessel alone entered the harbour of Sheipoo, a considerable trading town, took the fort which defended it, destroyed three war-junks, leaving the merchant-junks uninjured, and carried away a supply of wood, which he much needed. In the reduction of Chusan, and its capital, Tinghai, the Nemesis took her due share, as also in that of Chinghae, and the important city of Ningpo, where the British forces established their winter quarters; and, towards the end of December, she was dispatched with an expedition to disperse a body of Chinese troops, which had assembled at Yuyow, a town higher up the Ningpo river.

Having been thoroughly refitted and repaired in the early part of 1842, at Chusan, the Nemesis was sent to reconnoitre that and the neighbouring small islands; and was next employed in the operations on the south-western branch of the Ningpo

river above the city. She then returned to her former employment of exploring the islands near Chusan, in search of fire-vessels or other warlike preparations; and great numbers of fire-rafts and fire-boats were destroyed. In the course of this service the steamer struck upon a rock, on which she was left with her bows high and dry and her stern deep in the water. From this perilous situation she was floated off by the assistance of some large junks, which, as the tide rose, fairly lifted her off the rock.

In the month of May, Ningpo was given up, and the British forces, in their northward course, attacked the town of Chapoo, where a large body of Chinese troops was assembled. Here the Nemesis rendered the services usual on such occasions, and her Commander assisted in the operations on shore, which were more sanguinary than any that had previously occurred. The next point of attack was the village of Woosung, which was so obstinately defended, that the Nemesis and other vessels suffered considerably. She then assisted in conveying troops to the city of Shanghae, which was entered without resistance. The storming of Chin-Keang-Foo which immediately followed, was the last act of the tragedy performed in China. The successes of the British forces, spreading universal consternation, had at length wrung from the imperial government a reluctant compliance with the demands of the Plenipotentiary, the notification of which, received at the very moment when every preparation had been made for the assault of Nankin, the ancient capital of China, of course put an end to all hostilities.

The Nemesis, having thus honourably fulfilled her mission, and contributed in an eminent degree to the success of the operations in which she was concerned, sailed for Calcutta; and, visiting by the way the Chinese island of Hainan, in which Captain Hall and Mr. Bernard had made some interesting excursions, arrived without accident at the place of her destination on the 6th of February, 1843.

This Edition of the Voyages and Services of the Nemesis is exclusively embellished with a portrait, concerning the original of which we are enabled by Captain Hall to subjoin some interesting particulars.

When the island of Chusan was taken by the combined English forces on the 1st of October, 1841, they found there, in a state of complete destitution, a Chinese boy, whose father, a military man, had been killed in the attack, and the fate of whose mother could never be ascertained. The child was in consequence without a home, without a friend, and nearly famished. Captain Hall took him on board the Nemesis, and the kindness with which he was there treated soon reconciled him to his new abode and protectors.

On the following day, this boy, whose name was Afah, went ashore and visited Tinghae, his native city, but could learn no tidings of his mother or any of his relations. The former had no doubt fled with many others to the hills in the interior of the island, when our troops began to bombard the town; for the terror of all, but especially of the women, was extreme. He appeared delighted on his return, when he found himself once more on board the Nemesis. His visits to the shore were frequently repeated, and he met with many of his old play-fellows, whom he treated to sweetmeats. From his smiles and manner when on board, he appeared to be perfectly contented.

He soon picked up a few words of English, and, to keep up the knowledge of his own language, he was sent to school at Chusan; but such was his dislike to it, that he invariably tried to get excused from going, and so completely was he domesticated with his new friends, when the Nemesis proceeded northward with the expedition, that he expressed no wish to be left behind.

In a few months, Afah learned sufficient English to be useful as an interpreter, and was very serviceable in assisting to procure fresh provisions for the fleet, which was in great need of them, especially for the sick and wounded.

On one occasion, there was a warm dispute between the two Canton interpreters and a mandarin, who had undertaken to procure oxen and vegetables at a moderate price for the troops, on condition that they should not molest the inhabitants of his town, a few miles distant from the place where the Nemesis and Dido lay at anchor. The mandarin explained, through Afah, that those interpreters "no good and no speak proper; they want plenty

things first before they talk about your *pidgeon* (business)—not so with the little boy, he speak all proper." The consequence was that all the extensive purchases at that place were ever afterwards made by Afah : and, whenever foraging parties were sent out to collect supplies for the expedition, it was absolutely necessary for their success, and to keep up a good understanding with the natives, that Afah should accompany them.

At Nankin, Afah was in great request to attend parties to the far-famed porcelain Pagoda; and at that anchorage he was frequently sent for by the captains of ships to clear up any misunderstanding that might arise between the Chinese and the English, when bargaining.

An English party, rambling one day on shore near Nankin, came upon a farm-house, where a woman, on seeing the strangers, instantly ran and threw herself into a deep pond. With difficulty she was taken out alive, and nothing but the assurances of Afah that no harm would happen to her, prevented her from throwing herself in again: but at length she walked quietly off to a neighbouring cottage, persuaded that she had no injury to fear from the English, and that they were not so bad as they had been represented.

At dinner one day on board the Thames transport at Chusan, Sir Charles Burdett, of the 41st Madras Native Infantry, said to Afah that, if he would pronounce his name, he would give him a pistol. The little fellow immediately ran to Captain Hall, and inquired what was the name of that soldier-gentleman, pointing to Sir Charles. On being told, he found the task a difficult one, exclaiming, "Too much hard, no can." He persevered, however, until he mastered it, when he hastened to Sir Charles, and calling out his name, claimed the reward, which was duly presented to him. A few days after receiving the pistol, he accompanied Captain Hall and a party to Ningpo, to act as interpreter. One of the public offices was allotted for their residence during their stay. In one of the rooms required, lay a Chinese soldier, half asleep, and who would not get out of bed. Afah was summoned : he entered the room, pistol (not loaded) in hand, and pointed it at the man's face, telling him at the same time, "Suppose he no get

up, he makey shoot." The fellow, in great alarm, roared out, "No fire! I go! I go!" and ran out of the house to the great amusement of all present.

During the action at Woosung, when the shot were flying about rather briskly, and one of the crew had his arm shot off, to the no small surprise of Captain Hall, he perceived Afah upon the bridge which runs across from the paddle-boxes, and on his asking what brought him there, the boy replied, "he only came up to see the fun and what go on." Of course he was immediately ordered below.

On his arrival in England, Afah became an inmate in the family of Mr. Pope, of Manchester Square, who received and continued to befriend and protect him. As he possessed only an oral knowledge of the English language, and was necessarily ignorant of the first principles of religion, Mr. Pope was induced, on the recommendation of the Rector of St. Marylebone, to place him for a time in the infant school attached to the Rectory. There he soon became distinguished for his general good conduct and his aptitude for acquiring knowledge; and, after careful previous instruction, he was baptized by the Rector, by the names of Leang William Afah. He was afterwards sent by Captain Hall to a good boarding-school at Hanwell, where he continued to improve, and became a favourite of his teachers as well as of his school-fellows.

When on board the royal yacht at Woolwich, Captain Hall left him one day to go to the Admiralty. On his return in the evening, he was informed that the boy was missing, and it was feared that some accident had befallen him. Captain Hall, thinking it likely that he had hid himself, called him aloud by his name, "Here I am, Sir!" he instantly answered from his cabin. The Captain asked why he had locked himself up; he replied, "Soon you go away, plenty of people come on board the yacht; all want to see China Boy; China Boy no want to see them: they no your friends, everybody friends. I tired and go into your cabin, and lock myself up till you come back: all the sailors look for me and call China Boy: I no answer till I heard your voice."

During her Majesty's visit to Scotland, Afah was on board the royal yacht with Captain Hall. When at Dundee, he came up

one day without shoes and stockings and asked leave to go on shore. "Go on shore without shoes and stockings!" said Captain Hall; "certainly not." He immediately answered, "The women in Scotland no wear shoes and stockings; why should I not go without them all same?"

To the great delight of the little fellow, her Majesty and Prince Albert were graciously pleased to notice him, and, with their usual benevolence inquired into his history and asked if he had any relations left. The Princess Royal, who was present, appeared much amused: she wished to shake hands with him, and sweetly expressed her sorrow, when the Prince told her that his father had been killed. These will be precious recollections for Afah, and, should he ever return to his native land, they will no doubt be proudly and gratefully detailed to his countrymen; and it is impossible to calculate what beneficial effects may some day accrue, either to the land of his birth or to the British Empire, from the humanity, kindness, and protection extended by Captain Hall and other benefactors to the Orphan Boy, and from the Christian instruction and the English education which they have taken care to give him.

It remains only to be added that Mr. Bernard being absent from England, at the time this edition was passing through the press, he is in no manner responsible for this introduction.

NOVEMBER, 1846.

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

THE design originally proposed, when the following work was undertaken, has been somewhat departed from during its progress towards completion. Not only did the interest awakened by the various subjects treated of greatly increase, as the Author proceeded in his attempt to describe the scenes in which the Nemesis bore so distinguished a part, but the introduction of much collateral matter seemed to be called for, in order to enable him fully to illustrate the current of passing events. Hence the narrative of the adventures of the Nemesis gradually expanded itself into a complete history of the origin, progress, and termination of all the recent interesting occurrences in China, including a full and accurate account of all the operations of the war, and of the complicated difficulties from which it originated, as well as of the peculiar features that marked its progress.

In addition, therefore, to her own interesting tale, the Nemesis supplied a valuable foundation upon which to build up a more enlarged history. The Author had long taken a deep interest in all that concerned our relations with China ; and, with a view to study personally the character of the people, and to obtain accurate information by observation on the spot, he paid a lengthened

visit to that country in 1842. He there had the good fortune to fall in with the Nemesis, and, through the kindness of Captain Hall, he subsequently proceeded in her to Calcutta in the beginning of 1843. He has thus been enabled to add to the history of the operations, copious notices of the various places visited by the expedition; and has given a full description of the New Colony of Hong-Kong, with remarks upon its vast importance as a possession of the British empire upon the threshold of China.

Incidental observations have been introduced upon the character of the Chinese people, and the new prospects which have been opened to us, through the extraordinary changes which have taken place in our intercourse with them, in a social, moral, mercantile, and religious point of view. These will be met with according as they were suggested by particular occurrences, or prompted by localities described in the work. The Maps and Illustrations will also contribute to give interest to the Narrative.

The Author owes some apology to naval and military readers for the apparent presumption with which he has ventured to handle so many details of a professional character; nor indeed would he have undertaken the task without the able advice and correction of officers who were themselves actors in the scenes described. The valuable assistance and co-operation of Captain Hall, who was actively employed in China during the whole period of the war, and whose services in command of the Nemesis need no extraneous encomium, were indispensable to the completion of the work. The Author also gladly avails himself of this opportunity of acknowledging the kindness of Capt. Sir Thomas Herbert, R.N., K.C.B., who obligingly permitted him to have access to his plans and documents; and to numerous other naval and military officers the best thanks of Captain Hall and himself are due.

Those readers who are alive to the important progress of steam navigation cannot fail to take a deep interest in the history of the first iron steamer that ever doubled the Cape of Good Hope. In the narrative of her curious and protracted voyage will be found many notices of the places she visited, and in particular of some of the Portuguese slave settlements on the

east coast of Africa, at Delagoa Bay, at Mozambique, &c. The description given of the Comoro Islands will probably be quite new to most readers.

At the end of the work will be found an account of a visit to some of the harbours of the important island of Hainan, which must acquire greater importance through the progressive increase of our commercial intercourse with China.

With much diffidence, but entertaining a hope that the numerous subjects touched upon in these volumes have not been hastily or crudely handled, the Author commits his Narrative to the kind indulgence of his readers.

W. D. B.

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE CLUB,
MARCH 1844.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE rapid sale of the first edition, and the unexpected favour which the work has met with, have induced the Author to put forth a second edition, in a somewhat condensed and cheaper form. While no passages have been omitted which appeared essential to the completeness of the narrative, and none curtailed which seemed calculated to keep alive the general interest in the current of events, it is hoped, that the condensation of the whole into one volume, will be considered advantageous to a numerous class of readers.

The woodcuts have been all retained, and an additional map of the east coast of China, comprising all the recent improvements, has been added. A few corrections in the detail of facts have been made, at the suggestion of officers engaged, and it is hoped that this edition will be found to possess some advantages over the first. The Author gladly takes this opportunity of thanking the naval and military officers concerned, for their indulgence, and also a considerate public for the friendly reception which has been accorded to the work.

The Author is willing to believe that he owes more to the interest of the subject itself, when simply handled, than to his own individual efforts, however conscientiously directed.

LONDON, 1844.

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THE NEMESIS

IN

CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

The year 1839 will long be remembered by all those who have taken any interest in Eastern affairs. The harsh and unwarrantable measures of the Chinese Commissioner Lin, the imprisonment of Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary and all other English subjects, and his wild career of uncontrolled violence, called imperatively on our part for stronger measures than had yet been resorted to, and such measures were at once adopted by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, as well as by the government of the country, their direct object being to ensure the speedy departure of an adequate force for the protection of British subjects and British trade in China, and to demand proper reparation for the violence and insult offered to Her Majesty's representative.

It was scarcely to be expected that, under these circumstances, hostilities could be altogether avoided; and, as the principal scene of them, if they should occur, would be in rivers, and along the coasts, attention was directed to the fitting out of armed vessels peculiarly adapted for that particular service. Iron, as a material for ship-building, had been already tried and found to answer; and this was considered an extremely favourable opportunity for testing the qualities of iron steam-vessels; and the numerous rivers along the coast of China hitherto very imperfectly known, and almost totally unsurveyed, presented an admirable field for these experiments. If successful there, it might be readily

inferred that their utility in the fine rivers and along the shores of Hindostan and other portions of the Company's territories would be demonstrated, and by degrees a very powerful steam fleet would become an invaluable addition to the already vast resources of the Indian government.

Orders were therefore given for the immediate building of several stout iron steamers, to be constructed with peculiar reference to their employment in river navigation. They were all to be adequately armed and manned, and no reasonable expense was to be spared in fitting them out in a manner best adapted to the particular object sought to be attained by them. No iron steamer had ever yet doubled the Cape of Good Hope; their qualities, therefore, yet remained to be tested in the stormy seas about Southern Africa; and various questions respecting the errors of the compasses, the effects of lightning, &c., upon vessels of this kind remained still imperfectly solved, particularly in reference to those tropical regions where the great phenomena of nature are exhibited in a more intense and dangerous degree. In fact, no experience had yet been gained of their capabilities for the performance of long and perilous voyages; and it was a bold conception which suggested that they should be sent round the Cape, to the eastward, in the very worst season of the year, when even the stoutest and largest *wooden ships* trust themselves as little as possible in that stormy region.

The Nemesis was at length finished and sent to sea as a private armed steamer. A minute and scientific description of her structure will be found in the United Service Journal for May, 1840, and it will therefore be sufficient in this place merely to notice one or two peculiarities, in which it differs from that of wooden ships in general. With the exception of the great paddle beams across the ship, and the planks of the deck and the cabin-fittings, together with one or two other parts, the names of which would be intelligible to the scientific reader only, the whole vessel was built of iron. Credit is due to Mr. Laird, of the Birkenhead Iron Works, Liverpool, for the admirable manner in which she was constructed, and for the elegance of her form and model, which fully answered every purpose required.

Her burden was about 630 tons, and her engines of 120-horse power, constructed by Messrs. Forrester and Co., also of Liverpool; and, with 12 days' supply of coals, together with water and provisions for 4 months, and stores of all sorts for 2 years, with duplicate machinery, &c., and all her armament complete, her mean load draught of water was only 6 *feet*. But commonly, in actual service, she drew little more than 5 feet. Her length over all was 184 feet, her breadth 29 feet, and her depth 11 feet.

Her keel-plate was laid, and the vessel built and launched in the short space of 3 months.

Strictly speaking, the Nemesis has no fixed keel, but the lower plate of iron which connects the two sides of the ship together along its middle, is called the keel-plate. She is, therefore, almost perfectly flat-bottomed; and in order to obviate, as much as possible, the disadvantages attendant upon this peculiar construction, there are two sliding or moveable keels, capable of being raised or lowered to the depth of 5 feet below the bottom of the vessel. Each of these keels is about 7 feet in length, one being placed before and the other abaft the engine-room. They are each enclosed in a narrow case or tank, 1 foot wide, running from the bottom of the vessel up to the deck, and which of course being open below, allows the water to rise in it to the level of the sea on the outside of the vessel. In this the keel, which is of wood, 4½ inches thick, works up and down by means of a small winch, and a strong chain which is attached to it. Thus it is evident that either the foremost or the aftermost keel can be raised or lowered, independently of the other, if circumstances require it.

As it would, however, be impossible to steer with accuracy a vessel of this construction with a rudder merely of the ordinary kind, and which, from its shallowness, would, in a heavy sea, be in a great measure out of water, there is a contrivance by which a moveable or false rudder is attached to the lower part of the true or fixed rudder, and which descends to the same depth as the two false keels, and, like them, can be raised or lowered at pleasure.

The main or true rudder was composed of wood, but the lower or false rudder was made of iron, and was so constructed as to grasp the lower part of the upper or fixed one firmly on either side, but bolted through in such a way as to be moveable, as if it were fastened by a hinge, so that, by means of a chain run up to the taffrail from its outer edge, it could be hauled up to any height required.

The next striking peculiarity in the construction of the Nemesis was, that the entire vessel was divided into seven water-tight compartments, by means of iron bulk-heads, so that, in fact, it somewhat resembled a number of iron tanks, cased over, so as to assume the external form of one connected vessel. By this means, the occurrence of any accident, such as striking on a rock, or shot-holes, &c., which might occasion a dangerous leak in one compartment, would have no effect upon any other part of the vessel. The advantages of this arrangement were often tested during her 3 years' hard service; and, indeed, within a few days after her first departure from Liverpool, as will be presently

related, this contrivance sufficed to save her from the almost certain destruction which would otherwise have awaited her.

The last peculiarity which it seems necessary here to mention, was the provision of some kind of instrument for counteracting the effect of the local attraction of so large a mass of iron upon the compasses, and for correcting the errors occasioned thereby. This difficulty had been seriously felt by Col. Chesney, on board the small iron steamers which he had under his orders during his expedition to the Euphrates, although he was of opinion that the placing of the compasses at a certain height *above* the vessel, so as to be further removed from the sphere of the local attraction of the iron, was sufficient to reduce their errors materially.

Without entering into the merits of Barlow's counteracting plates, or Professor Airy's interesting discoveries, it will be sufficient here to mention that the Nemesis was fitted with correctors, very much according to the system of Professor Airy, but not under his own superintendence; that the experiments were conducted at Liverpool under every disadvantage, and that the result was never perfectly satisfactory. Indeed, the accident which shortly befel her has been attributed, upon strong grounds, principally to the imperfection of her compasses. It is right, however, to mention that other vessels, such as the Phlegethon and Pluto, which have been fitted with Airy's correctors, tested according to the most approved principles, and after experiments conducted with great attention, have been totally relieved from this source of danger and anxiety, and have been navigated with perfect accuracy and confidence.

On the departure of the Nemesis from Liverpool, where she was built, everything seemed at first to prosper; the weather was favourable, and the machinery perfect in all its parts. She had cleared the narrowest part of the Irish channel, had passed the coast of Wales, and crossed the entrance to the Bristol Channel; and the course she had been steering would have taken her well clear of the Land's End, when on the second day, about 2 o'clock in the morning, the weather being hazy and the night dark, she struck heavily on a rock Of course the engines were instantly stopped, but the way she already had on her appeared sufficient to carry her over the reef; and, indeed, the actual rocks themselves could be seen outside of her, so that she had evidently passed between them and the land, and had merely struck the edge of the reef.

As the vessel did not *hang* upon the reef, and was therefore still afloat, her head was turned to seaward, and the engines kept working slowly, while the dawn was anxiously expected. It was now discovered that the rocks upon which she had struck were aptly enough called "The Stones," lying at the entrance to the

bay of St. Ives, in Cornwall, and not very far distant from the Land's End. It was soon evident also, that the accident had occasioned a very serious leak in one of the foremost compartments of the vessel. It was with difficulty that the water could be kept lower in it than the level of the sea outside, with the hand-pump; and, in fact, if the vessel had not been divided into these water-tight compartments, it is difficult to imagine that the accident would not have been fatal to her.

However, she was carried, without much difficulty, round the Land's End into Mount's Bay, where she anchored about 3 miles from Penzance, off St. Michael's Mount. The object here was to procure an additional pump, in the hope of being able, by that means, to empty the tank or compartment, so as to be able to stop the leak from the inside. Fortunately, one perfectly adapted for the purpose was obtained from a small coasting vessel which was at anchor in the bay. It was an iron one, and has been preserved on board ever since, and, on many occasions, has been found of the greatest utility. Indeed every vessel of this kind should be provided with such an extra pump, to be worked by hand, and at all times ready to be placed into any compartment, as an additional means of pumping it out, and also as a security against fire, for the purpose of pumping water into the vessel in case of necessity.

With the assistance of this additional pump, the water in the compartment was completely emptied, and then it was discovered that a hole had been cut completely through her bottom by the rock, but could now be easily stopped from the inside. This being speedily effected, the vessel pursued her voyage without the least difficulty, and came to anchor on the following evening in Yarmouth Roads, inside the Isle of Wight.

It should here be mentioned that every compartment of the vessel was provided with a small pipe and cock, by means of which, the water could be let out of one compartment into another and so passed on, from one to the other, into the engine-room where it could be pumped out by the machinery. As this appeared a rather clumsy mode of doing it, namely, by floating nearly half the ship unnecessarily, it was not resorted to. But, in vessels more recently constructed, a great improvement has been introduced in this respect. From each of the compartments a pipe leads directly into the engine-room itself, without communicating with any other part; so that by means of a cock, the water can at once be pumped out by the engine, or else can be confined to the compartment itself, and pumped out by hand, when it is not desirable to let it flow into the engine-room.

As little time as possible was lost in completing the necessary

repairs, and in rendering the vessel in all respects fit to undertake the long and unknown voyage she was about to perform. At length she was cleared out for the Russian port of Odessa, much to the astonishment of every one; but those who gave themselves time to reflect, hardly believed it possible that such could be her real destination.

She was armed with two 32-pounder guns, mounted on pivot or traversing carriages, for the purpose of throwing either shot or shell, one being placed forward and the other aft, as in all armed steamers.* On leaving England she had on board about 60 men and officers; but, during the operations in China, she usually had about 90 men and officers.† Her daily consumption of fuel was about 11 tons.

* She subsequently, also, carried 5 long brass 6-pounders, 2 on each side, and 1 upon the bridge; and had 10 small iron swivels along the top of her bulwarks, besides boat guns and small arms.

† Nominal list of Officers who served on board the Nemesis during the period referred to in this work:—

William H. Hall, R.N., Com.; promoted to Post-Capt. 22nd Oct. 1844.

Lieut. William Pedder, R.N., First Officer; made Harbour Master and Marine Magistrate at Hong Kong, July, 1841.

Mr. Ed. L. Strangways, Mate R.N., Second Officer; left sick 29th March, 1841; Lieut., 23rd Dec., 1842.

Mr. John Laird Galbraith, Third Officer; made Second Officer, 29th March, 1841; and First Officer, 1st July, 1842; and paid off at Calcutta, March, 1843.

Mr. F. W. Whitehurst, Fourth Officer; made Third Officer, 29th March, 1841; and Second Officer, 1st July, 1842; and paid off at Calcutta, March. 1843.

Mr. Peter Young, M.R.C.S., Surgeon; left the vessel on promotion, 15th January, 1841, at Macao.

Mr. John Gaunt, Purser; served during the whole period.

N.B.—The above joined the Nemesis in England.

The following officers joined the Nemesis at different periods in China:—

Mr. John Turner, Surgeon; joined 15th Jan., 1841, at Macao; made Assistant-Surgeon, Bombay Establishment, Oct. 1843.

Mr. A. T. Freese, Mate, R.N., First Officer; joined 1st August, 1841, at Hong Kong; left the vessel 30th June, 1842; Lieut., 23rd Dec., 1842.

Mr. Alfred Fryer, Fourth Officer; joined 1st Feb. 1842, at Chusan; paid off and rejoined at Calcutta, 1843.

Mr. B. G. Dryden, Second Officer; joined 1st July, 1842, at Woosung; ditto.

Mr. Arthur Baker, Volunteer; joined 24th August, 1842; Yangtze river; ditto.

Engineers—Mr. Colin M'Dougal (killed), Mr. John Kinross, Mr. Henry L. Harley, Mr. William Lang, Mr. David Wilson, Robert Kelly.

N.B.—Mr. Crouch, Mate, R.N., served on board as gunnery-mate, from the Wellesley, by permission of Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer, at Chuenpee, at First Bar Action, and Inner Passage, &c. Promoted Lieut., 8th June, 1841; Com., 25th Oct., 1843. Wounded at Chin-keang-foo.

She had no *paddle-boots*; but, in other respects, she was well found in boats while in China. She had two cutters, pinnace, gig, jolly-boat, dingy, and always a large Chinese boat. A large platform was also built between the paddle-boxes, instead of the small bridge which is usually constructed there. This platform covered the whole space between the paddle-boxes, and was found particularly convenient when troops were on board, as it was always occupied by the officers, while the decks were crowded by the soldiers. There was also a 6-pounder brass pivot gun, mounted upon the bridge, which was very useful for trying the range. A rocket tube and a supply of rockets were always kept in readiness upon this platform, besides ammunition for the brass gun, &c. In hot weather an awning was spread over it, and it was at all times a very convenient place for watching and directing the operations of the steamer.

Unusual interest was excited by the expected departure of this strange vessel, upon a voyage, the purpose and the destination of which were alike unknown. The admiral himself was ignorant of the service which she was called upon to perform.

At length, on the 28th of March, 1840, she really sailed. The Needle Rocks, the high cliffs at the back of the Isle of Wight, the shores of England, had gradually sunk below the horizon, and the excitement attending departure had at length settled down into the cold reality of a first night at sea.

On the 3rd day, the 30th of March, at daylight, the last glimpse was taken of the land of our birth. The Lizard disappeared, and nothing was around but the wide expanse of the blue ocean. On gaily went the gallant vessel through the Bay of Biscay, at an average rate of 7 to 8 knots under steam, moving gracefully to the heavy swell which at all times prevails there.

On the 2nd of April she was well in sight of Cape Finisterre, the dread of seamen, on the rock-bound coast of Spain, and encountered a moderate gale of wind, but made head against it without difficulty. On the 6th of April, the 9th day since she had left Portsmouth, and only the 7th from the Land's End, the lovely island of Madeira came full in sight. At daylight, the little island of Porto Santo having been passed, the full prospect of the larger island of Madeira lay exposed.

Though sailors are seldom poets, there is something in the aspect of this beautiful island which speaks poetry to the least poetical: and, where Nature looks so eloquent, and the fresh green of the loaded vineyard contrasts so beautifully with the wilder rocks above it, while the sun of its scarce-failing summer sheds its glow upon the varied woods around, even the iron

Nemesis and her iron-hearted crew were cheered and gladdened, as she glided close along the shore.

The Nemesis was not long in coming to anchor within the bay, not very far from the town, and between it and the remarkable rock called the Loo Rock. Time was precious, and the great object of her visit was to be accomplished as soon as possible—namely, in the stoker's language, "coaling"—an operation anything but pleasant. But they who would enjoy the steamer's "stately march upon the waters" must be content to purchase it at the price of this necessary evil.

CHAPTER II.

On the evening of the 8th April, the steamer was again standing out of the Bay of Funchal, after being detained there only 3 days. It was well known to all the crew, although the majority of her officers belonged to Her Majesty's Navy, that the vessel was not under the articles of war. Even in this early part of her career the difficulty had been seriously felt; and none but those who have been placed in similar circumstances as commanding officers, can form any notion of the great forbearance, tact, and judgment which are daily required on their part in the management of their men.

On the 11th, she passed quietly through the Canary Islands, between Palma and Teneriffe, the high peak of the latter, however, not being visible, owing to the hazy weather. The Nemesis was now entirely under canvass, and the steam was not got up for 12 or 13 days after her departure from Madeira. The north-east trade-wind carried her smoothly along, as she passed about midway between the Cape de Verd Islands and the Coast of Africa; it was only in a calm, not far from Sierra Leone, that she had occasion to use her engines, and, although flat-bottomed she was found to sail remarkably well without steam.

Thus she proceeded quietly along the coast, until she reached the neighbourhood of Cape Formoso, towards which she was set by strong and unusual southerly winds and a lee-current. She was, however, not long in reaching Prince's Island, situated near the Coast of Africa, where she cast anchor in West Bay, on the evening of the 14th May, 44 days from England, principally under sail. Here she remained, undergoing a necessary refit, cutting

wood for fuel, and preparing for sea, until the evening of the 23rd.

It is the practice for every English man-of-war, of those stationed on the coast, which resort to the island, to leave a Krooman* in her pay, for the purpose of cutting wood for the ship, in readiness for her return. As there are generally several vessels on the coast, so there are several Kroomen belonging to them, who join together and go out to cut wood, lending each other mutual assistance. The wood is then brought down to the coast and stacked in piles, one for each ship, the name of the particular ship being written on it.

As Capt. Hall was furnished with a letter from the Admiralty, requiring all Her Majesty's ships to give him every assistance in their power, he was not long in taking on board the whole stock of wood already laid up for the little squadron. Capt. Tucker, then commanding the Wolverine, was most active in lending his aid, and even gave up the supply of wood which he already had on board. In this way about 70 tons of good hard wood were at last taken on board the Nemesis: and, as plenty of coal still remained, there could be little doubt that, with this reinforcement, she would be able to reach the Cape of Good Hope without difficulty. Water of excellent quality is easily procured in the immediate neighbourhood of the landing-place; and thus two very important items for the recruiting of a ship are to be found in abundance in Prince's Island. Pigs, poultry, and goats are to be had in any quantity, as well as yams, Indian corn, coffee, bananas, pine-apples, and limes. Above all, the anchorage at Prince's Island is good in all seasons, and of easy access, either by day or night. It is consequently a very valuable place of call for vessels going by the eastern passage to the Cape, which in some seasons is to be preferred to the western route, particularly for steamers.

Prince's Island is already deriving great benefit from the demand for its wood. Land is, in consequence, clearing and planting, and the coffee grown there is of good quality and cheap. In fact, from its position and capabilities, it is likely to become a place of great resort, as steam communication viâ the Cape of Good Hope, gradually becomes more extended.

Ships sailing much along the coast are pretty sure to get their bottoms covered with large barnacles; and the Nemesis, so far from being exempt from this annoyance, being entirely of iron, was, perhaps, more troubled with them than a coppered ship

* A native African from the so-called Kroo country.

would have been. The quantity, indeed, was enormous, and they adhered so firmly that it was with some difficulty they were taken off, commonly bringing away the paint with them. Kroomen belonging to the men-of-war were employed to dive under the ship's bottom for the purpose, and a very curious and amusing scene it was;—great, muscular, black, curly-headed fellows, bobbing down under water, some with brooms, some with scrapers, and others with bits of iron bar; anything in short, with which they could attack the tenacious visiters which clung so lovingly to the iron Nemesis. It is astonishing how long these men can remain at work under water, and no light work either. The Kroomen are an active, laborious, and faithful race, as all will testify who have occasion to employ them on the coast. They are received as seamen in our men-of-war upon the station; and the Nemesis, on her return to Calcutta, after long and arduous service, had still two of them remaining on board, out of three who accompanied her from the coast, the other having died in the service.

At length, on the 22nd of May, the steam was once more got up, boats hoisted in, anchor weighed, and the word "full speed" being passed below, away went the still mysterious Nemesis, as the sun had just dipped below the horizon. Her course would necessarily lead her towards the Island of St. Thomas, another Portuguese settlement, lying as nearly as possible under the Line, and therefore scarcely a day's voyage from Prince's Island. She accordingly approached it on the following afternoon, and did not lose the opportunity of entering the Bay of Chaves, where lies the principal town, called St. Anne de Chaves.

Some parts of this small island are very pretty and picturesque, others are wild and thickly wooded. It produces large quantities of fruit and vegetables, but is principally valuable on account of the excellence of its coffee, which, however, is not cultivated in very large quantity. St. Anne, the principal town, lies at the bottom of a lovely bay. The greater part of the inhabitants of St. Anne are negro slaves and Kroomen. The latter come over from the coast to the northward of the Line, and are tall, athletic men, very industrious, (in this respect different from most other Africans,) intelligent, and, when well treated, faithful and honest. All the Kroomen are strongly attached to the English, and willingly serve on board our ships. They have great faith in an Englishman's word, and, to whatever part of the world they may be carried, they always feel confident of being sent back to their own country free of expense, whenever their services are no longer required. They are an independent people,

and have never been connected with slave-dealers, whom indeed, they seem to hold in great contempt. Nevertheless they have the woolly hair and thick lips and nose of the true negro. Of all the Africans whom I have seen, they appear most to resemble the Abyssinians in their character and habits, though improved by more frequent contact with our countrymen.

The governor's house is the best in the place, and is distinguished from the more humble ones around it by the luxury of a green verandah. Across the entrance to the principal apartment, a large curtain or screen of drapery was hung, richly emblazoned with the arms of Portugal, and almost the only real token of her power. It was naturally a matter of curiosity to visit his excellency in state, and, accordingly, Capt. Hall and his officers were ushered into the *presence* by a grand Master of the Ceremonies, who was also commandant of the island. This person was a huge negro, "richly caparisoned" for the occasion, and, as he spoke a little English, he proceeded immediately after the presentation to expound to his Excellency the object of the visit. That object was—first, of course, to pay respect to so distinguished an officer, and next to ascertain whether, in case a steamer should happen to touch there at any other time, a depôt for coal could be formed on the island, and whether wood could be procured for fuel, and a proper place provided for storing it until required. His Excellency condescended to be extremely polite, saying that both these matters could be accomplished, and that he should be happy to lend his assistance in any manner he could. He added that he perfectly well remembered that the Enterprise, a wooden steamer, had touched there on her way to India many years before, but that he had never till now heard of an *iron* one.

The interview was soon ended, and was so far perfectly satisfactory. But, as the party were on the way down to the ship again, the black master of the ceremonies, aid-de-camp, commandant, &c., made a particular request that no salute should be fired, for that they happened to be "very badly off for powder" themselves, and should find it inconvenient to be obliged to return it; probably a gentle hint that a little powder would be acceptable. Little time could be devoted to the further examination of the island, which would seem to be of very small value to its masters. There is reason, however, to believe, that to a certain degree, although unacknowledged and in secret, it is made use of as a sort of intermediate trading-place for slaves. It was on this island that the distinguished Major Sabine conducted his scientific and interesting observations upon the swinging of

the pendulum, in 1822, as it lies as nearly as possible under the Line.

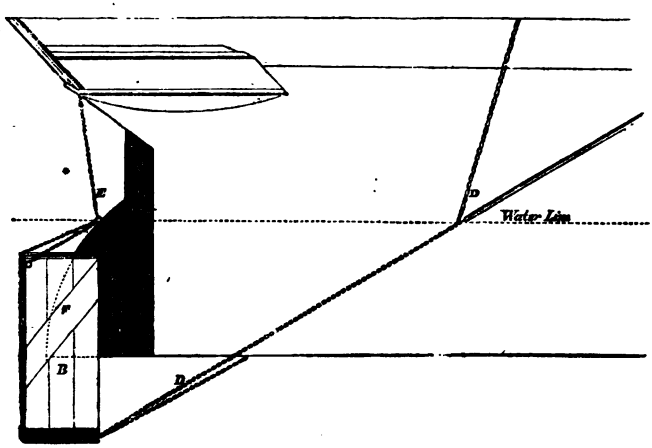
On the following morning, the 25th, the Nemesis crossed the Line, with the thermometer at 96°, which had been the average temperature for several days. Strong adverse winds prevailed, with a heavy swell for many days afterwards, against which she went ahead very steadily, at the rate of five to five and a half knots an hour; but, as it was desirable to save fuel as much as possible, it was at length determined to make a hitherto untried experiment—viz., to work the lee paddle-wheel only, while under sail, (the other wheel being disconnected, and allowed to revolve by the motion of the vessel,) and also to use only one boiler. She was steered about five and a half points from the wind, and in this position, with a rolling sea and steady breeze, she continued to make head at the rate of six and a half to seven knots an hour, the active or lee paddle wheel, making twelve to fifteen revolutions per minute. Thus the success of the trial was complete, particularly as it appeared to counteract the *lee-way* of the vessel. The helm did not seem to be materially affected by the unequal force applied to the two sides of the vessel.

Some pains have been taken to ascertain whether *both* engines could be worked to any good purpose with one boiler. In reply to this question, it appears that, except in the river Mersey, at Liverpool, with all circumstances particularly favourable, the Nemesis was never able to work both engines with one boiler with more than very inconsiderable effect. But it must be very evident that any vessel, having power enough to do so in case of emergency, must possess a great advantage, and there is little doubt that, with 20 or 30-horse power more, she would have been able to accomplish it in smooth water, particularly with sails set. It is, therefore, to be regretted that her power (only 120-horse) was scarcely sufficient for her size and weight.

On the 2nd of June, the ship all at once seemed to be lost to the control of the helmsman, and, no other very good reason suggesting itself, the rudder was naturally examined with care. It was at once discovered that the drop or false rudder had been carried away, and, on examination, there was reason to think it must have been fairly worn through at the point of junction with the lower edge of the upper or true rudder—for at this part nearly the whole strain of its action operated. No time was to be lost in attempting to repair this injury, as the vessel became almost unmanageable, the true rudder, at times, being nearly above water in the heavy pitching of the ship. With the utmost exertion on the part of the officers and the intelligent carpenter

of the ship, a temporary false rudder was constructed, and securely fixed before nightfall. It was, moreover, found to act even better than the original one, having more hold in the water, as well as a larger surface of attachment to the upper rudder. Subjoined is a plan of this contrivance, which will almost suffice to explain its ingenuity. It was made of planks of wood, instead of solid iron, and was secured by chains, in such a manner as to grasp the upper or true rudder firmly, while it could also be raised or lowered at pleasure.

PLAN OF A TEMPORARY RUDDER INVENTED BY CAPT. HALL, FITTED AND SHIPPED AT SEA, ON BOARD THE H.C. STEAM VESSEL NEMESIS.



A Main rudder.
B Side view of temporary rudder, made double (out of 6 square float-boards,) so as to clasp the main rudder on each side.
C Pigs of ballast between the floats, resting on the heel-piece.
D Lower chain guys, which pass round the heel of the rudder, crossing it at the fore part, and leading up on each quarter, with a tackle attached to each side.
E Chain-head guys, passing through bolts in the main rudder, and set up over the stern.
F Strengthening pieces of iron.

The whole apparatus was found to answer remarkable well, and, during the remainder of the voyage to the Cape, (and that

a trying one,) it never got out of order, or required additional support. Indeed it was remarked by every one, that the vessel was more easily steered than it had been before.

Strong breezes from the southward still prevailed, without any prospect of a speedy change; the progress of the vessel was slow, and there only remained on board 32 tons of coal, with a little wood; nor was there any place at hand to which she could run for fuel. It was therefore resolved to stand out to sea, trusting to her canvass only. Thus her remaining fuel would be reserved for any emergency, and would ensure her being able to get into port when within a reasonable distance. As much sail was set as she could carry, and her course was altered according to the wind. Away stood the fearless Nemesis, disdaining the land, and boldly venturing out to dare the stormy seas of those regions in the depth of winter. The heavy winds from the southward, which had so long prevailed, had baffled all the usual calculations.

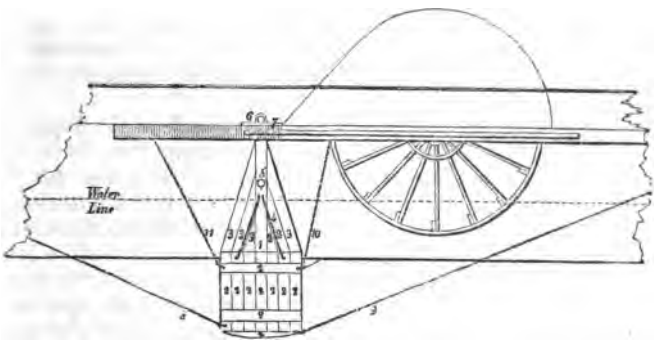
On the first day of her standing away, it became more than ever apparent that, being very light, and in fact scarcely drawing $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water, as she was really flat-bottomed, the vessel fell so much to leeward that she made very little progress on a wind and in a heavy sea; and, in short, that her deep moveable keels were far from sufficient to counteract this tendency. It therefore became of the utmost importance to endeavour to invent some additional means of remedying this inconvenience.

Capt. Hall, calling to mind former experience on the coast of Holland, and remembering the great advantage which the flat-bottomed Dutch vessels derived from the use of their lee-boards when sailing in light winds or close hauled, with a head sea, conceived that something of a similar kind might be adopted on the present occasion. The officers concurred in the suggestion; and, when all are animated with the same cordial and enterprising spirit, few things are found to be so difficult as they at first appear. It is the mutual reliance upon each other, in the moment of difficulty, which enables British seamen boldly and successfully to brave many perils, which a moment's doubt or hesitation might render insurmountable.

The annexed diagram will sufficiently explain the nature of the contrivance adopted on this occasion. It is only necessary to remark, that, in addition to the 4 chains that are seen in the plan, a fifth was found necessary, to keep the lee-board close to the side of the vessel. It was secured to the lower end of the lee-board at its centre, and, having then been carried across the vessel's bottom, was fastened to the opposite side by a rope and tackle.

Thus equipped, the Nemesis proceeded on her voyage, and was found to derive great assistance from this new contrivance. It was found that her lee-way was reduced *fully one-half*, as ascertained by careful observation.*

PLAN OF CAPT. HALL'S LEE-BOARDS USED ON BOARD THE NEMESIS.



1 Main piece made of birch, 4 inches by 12
2 Nine floats, 7 ft. 8 in. long, 11 in. broad, and 2½ thick.
3 Two-inch plank.
4 Iron braces 1½in. thick to strengthen it.
5 Ring-bolt to get it in and out with.
6 Beam covered with iron for lee-board to work on.
7 Iron clamp, extending 2 feet, ½ in. thick.
8 After guy, for tricing up.
9 Fore ditto, to steady heel.
10, 11 } Upper guys.

N.B.—The chain guys were all set up with a rope and tackle.

* Another remark, perhaps, worthy of being attended to, suggested itself on this occasion, and it has been frequently confirmed since—namely, that no steamer constructed according to the model of the Nemesis should be sent to sea upon a long and uncertain voyage, without having a *fixed keel* running the whole way fore and aft, and bolted strongly through her bottom. This would be found of the greatest possible utility at sea, and it could easily be taken off, and the moveable keels put on, whenever the vessel was employed on a coast, or in river navigation. It may further be questionable, in the event of a smaller steamer being intended to be sent out, whether it would not be both safer and less expensive to send it in *pieces*, and have it put together by the mechanics and engineers belonging to it at the place where it might be destined for use, than to send it ready equipped to make its own way to its destination by steam and canvass, with all the necessary risk.

Gradually the breeze freshened on the subsequent days, until, at last, about the 18th, it amounted to a moderate gale, with that high and heavy sea which all who have visited the Cape will long remember, threatening every now and then to break on board or poop the ship; but the steady little vessel rose to it like a swan, and never shipped one heavy or dangerous sea. Confidence in all her qualities daily increased, and, with a strong breeze on the quarter, she was now sailing, under canvass only, at the rate of 8 to 9½ knots an hour. The lee-board was found at all times useful in making the ship stanch under sail, but, as it was constructed in haste, and only with such materials as were at hand, it required to be repaired and strengthened several times.

At length, on the 29th, being still 230 miles from the Cape, but well down to the southward, and it appearing that there was sufficient fuel left to carry her into port, the steam was for the last time got up. On the morning of the 1st July, the remarkable land of the Table Mountain and the conical peak to the southward of it were well in sight. The Nemesis had made a long and tiresome voyage in the most unfavourable season of the year, and the anxiety which had been shared by all on board may well be conceived. The dangers of the Cape at that time of year have not been exaggerated. On the 1st July, much to the astonishment of every one at Cape Town, she was descried, late in the evening, quietly steaming into Table Bay.

CHAPTER III.

During the winter season, few vessels, and those only of light burden, venture into Table Bay, exposed as it is to the full fury of the north-west gales. But the Nemesis had little cause for fear, her light draught of water enabling her to anchor in a well-sheltered cove, near the stone jetty which has recently been constructed.

On the second day after her arrival, the governor of the colony paid a visit on board, and, as he appeared to take the greatest interest in all that related to her construction and equipment, the steam was got up, and the whole party were

carried round the bay, apparently much to their satisfaction and enjoyment. The foremost gun was fired in every position, and with different charges of powder, to shew its power and range: and the interest awakened as to the future destination of the vessel was much increased by what they then witnessed.

Everything contributed to make the day remembered; and as the Nemesis, returning from her trip, approached the landing place, thousands came to greet her. To the astonishmeut of all, she ran in close to the side of the old jetty, where no vessel had ever been seen before. Nothing could exceed the wonder of the people at seeing so long and large a vessel floating alongside their old wooden pier, usually frequented only by boats. It created quite an excitement in quiet Cape Town, and the steady, sober-thinking Dutchmen could hardly bring themselves to believe that iron could float at all, and still less with such astonishing buoyancy.

Scarcely had the governor and his suite landed, when hundreds, one might almost say thousands, of curious people crowded on board. The report that an iron steamer was lying close to the town had spread so fast, and had excited so much curiosity, that even the sick made it an excuse for an airing; and such a motley crowd of people of every caste and colour as gathered round the vessel is rarely to be met with elsewhere. The negro, the Hottentot, the Caffir, and the Malay, with all the intermediate shades of colour, hastened down with idle curiosity; while the respectable Europeans and colonists, young and old, were admitted on board, and seemed delighted to gaze on something new. As it was desirable that as much coal as possible should be taken on board before the vessel was compelled to haul off, owing to the falling of the tide, no time was lost in commencing the troublesome process. Even this did not at all deter the visiters, who continued to succeed each other in crowds, in spite of the inconvenience they suffered.

Several repairs were now to be made with all expedition. The drop, or false rudder, was first to be restored, and required to be much strengthened. This was a very essential matter, and a suggestion now occurred worth noticing—namely, that in the event of other vessels of the same kind being sent to sea, they should be provided with some means of being able completely to choke the rudder temporarily, or prevent its action altogether while at sea, in case of its being found requisite to repair the drop-rudder. The want of some means of keeping the rudder stationary while repairing it at sea was frequently felt, and something might easily be provided to effect this object. The whole delay at the Cape amounted to 9 clear days.

On the 11th of July, all being completed, she once more stood out of Table Bay, with the cheers and hearty good wishes of all, for her success, although they wondered what her mysterious destination could be.

The Nemesis had distinct orders to run through the Mozambique Channel, between the continent of Africa and the island of Madagascar, and, touching at Ceylon for coals, proceed down the Straits of Malacca to her destination; the season of the year was considered the most favourable for this route, and it was thought desirable that a visit should be paid to the island of Johanna, the most frequented of the group called the Comoro Islands, situated at the northern end of the Mozambique Channel. But this was only known to her commander: all that either officers or men could learn about her destination, when they left the Cape, was, that they were at once to proceed through the Mozambique Channel.

The first few days of her passage alternated between gales and calms, and the high sea which she encountered only gave her a further opportunity of proving the good qualities which she possessed as a sea-boat. Cape Francis, on the southern side of the Coast of Africa, within the colony, near Algoa Bay, was in sight from the mast-head on the 14th. The barometer began to fall on the 15th, and, on the following day had almost sunk to 28 inches. Vivid flashes of lightning ran along the sky to the westward; the wind, which had been strong and steady from the N.N.W., freshened to a heavy gale; every appearance indicated an increase rather than a diminution of the storm, and the sea became so high and heavy, that it threatened every moment to overwhelm the *long, low* Nemesis, for the sail that could be put upon her scarcely sufficed to keep her before the sea.

The float-boards had been taken off the wheels before the gale commenced, and she had continued under canvas ever since. Algoa Bay had been passed long before the weather had become so threatening; to return to it was now impossible; the gale went on increasing, the sea rose fearfully, and the ship's course was slightly altered, so as to carry her further away from the land. Her danger even at this time was great, as she lay so low upon the sea, which heaved its convulsive waves high above her.

In the night, or rather about 3 o'clock in the morning of the 17th, a tremendous sea at length struck her upon the larboard quarter. Her whole frame quivered with the blow; and so violent was the shock, that the first impression of all on board was, that the ship had been actually riven asunder. The violence of the blow made her broach to the sea and wind; but happily she was got before it again as speedily as possible. As

daylight dawned, the injuries which the vessel had received were soon discovered. The starboard paddle-wheel had been seriously damaged; in fact, a considerable portion of it had been nearly carried away, and only hung by a very small attachment, by which it was then dragging through the water.

Scarcely had the necessary means been adopted to save this portion of the wheel, when another and more serious injury was found to have happened to the body of the ship itself. An immense perpendicular crack was discovered on both sides of the vessel, just before the after paddle or sponson beam, extending almost entirely through the second iron plate from the top, and also through a small portion of the upper one. These had been broken asunder with such violence, that, at the worst point of the injury, the plate had bulged outwards, in such a manner that one portion of the broken surface projected to the extent of about two inches, leaving a most formidable opening in the ship's side. In reality, the vessel had begun to separate amidships, from one side to the other. There was every probability, too, that the crack, which at this time was nearly 2½ feet in length, would rapidly extend itself, by the working of the ship, unless the weather moderated very speedily. There was every cause for alarm, and little prospect of being able, even temporarily, to repair so serious an injury in the then state of the weather.

It was evident that the broken paddle-wheel could not long hold together, and scarcely any one thought it possible to save the broken portion of it from being lost. But a little ingenuity, stimulated by the necessity of the moment, often suggests the most effectual contrivances, which are, after all, the most simple. The great object was to secure it temporarily, in some way or other; so that, as soon as the rim became completely broken through, the mass might hang suspended by some other means from the ship's side. The vessel was rolling heavily, so that there was little chance of being able to pass a rope round it; but the ingenious thought quickly suggested itself, that one of the large boat anchors would make a capital fish-hook for the purpose. With this, one of the arms was at last caught hold of, and supported, until the rim was completely torn through; and then, by means of a tackle, the large broken portion of the wheel was, with some difficulty, hauled on board.

Here we may make two observations. First, that the practice of taking off the float-boards under sail, which in some steamers is made a regular exercise for the men, at all times materially weakens the paddle-wheel, particularly in a heavy sea; and may

endanger it altogether; secondly, that an additional paddle-ring, running round the centre of the paddle-arms, and tying them together, contributes very much to the strength of the wheel: and further, that the paddle-centre should never be made of cast iron. It is the most important part of the whole wheel, and should have the utmost strength, which wrought iron alone can give. On this occasion 8 only out of the 16 float-boards had been removed, otherwise very probably still more serious damage would have happened. In order to provide against the recurrence of any similar accident, orders were subsequently given to prepare several small bars of iron, which were to be screwed on in the place of every *second* float-board removed; so that if 8 float-boards were taken off, 4 small bars of iron would be put on in their places. Thus the wheel would not lose its proper support and connexion. But from the experience which had now been gained, it was rarely afterwards thought expedient to take the float-boards off at all, and certainly only in smooth water, and with every appearance of settled weather. The portion of the paddle-wheel which had been torn away on this occasion comprised no less than two-fifths of the entire circumference. This large mass of iron could not have weighed less than 15 or 16 cwt.

On the following day, the 18th, the weather moderated considerably, and the vessel proceeded, with the help of one wheel only, at the rate of about 4 knots an hour. In the meantime, every possible effort was used to get the broken wheel repaired, and, in the short space of 3 days after the accident, the broken portion was got over the vessel's side with extraordinary labour, and ultimately secured by bolts in its original place.

On the 20th, she passed within 40 miles of Port Natal, (become so famous as the place which the eminent Dutch farmers from the Cape Colony have attempted to make independent.) But there was little chance of being able to make the necessary repairs in such a place.

The dangerous condition of the vessel, after the iron plates on both sides had begun to open, could be concealed from none on board; but as long as the weather was moderate, there appeared little doubt of her being able to reach Delagoa Bay without very great risk of foundering. On the following day, however, the 21st, the wind again began to freshen from the north-east, an unusual quarter at that time of the year. Again, the mighty sea arose and damped the reviving hopes of all, and the heavy cross swell could be looked on only with deep alarm.

Gradually, the opening of the ship's sides, which hitherto had been sufficiently limited to cause her to take in but little water,

began to extend itself in an alarming manner. Indeed, it was impossible to guess where it would stop, or how any efficient means could be adopted to check it. Both sides were so bad that it was difficult to say which was worst. The vessel was evidently *working* amidships, as it is called, or, in other words, it had not only opened up and down, but was moving in and out from side to side. Moreover, the weather threatened to become rather worse than better; and, to add to the difficulty, the furnace of the larboard boiler was found to be injured, and, in fact, could scarcely be used at all. Thus it became more and more uncertain whether the engines could be kept working so as to pump the water out of the hold; to say nothing of urging the vessel along.

Temporary expedients were at once to be resorted to; repairs were wanted at various parts at the same time, and every hand on board was now to be occupied day and night in contriving means to keep the vessel afloat. The heavy sea which, since the change of wind, had met the full current, and rolled heavily behind the vessel, threatened to break over her every instant. To provide as well as possible against this danger, 4 breadths of stout plank were secured as strongly as possible over the stern and along the quarters, in order to keep the sea out, or, at all events, to break its force. So heavy was the sea, that at this time the main rudder was sometimes completely out of water, and at the same moment the jib-boom was *under* it.

In the midst of this, with the hope of relieving the strain by diminishing the top weight at the extremities, the aftermost or large stern gun was with great labour dismounted from its pivot-carriage, and safely deposited in one of the after coal-bunkers; and the bower anchors, which had already been brought inboard, were now dragged further amidships. This eased the ship a little. But gradually, as the day advanced, the wind increased, and hourly the sea became more dangerous.

An attempt was, however, made on the 22nd to effect a temporary repair to the ship's sides, which were straining very much. For this purpose two or three rivets were cut out on each side of the crack in the plates, and a portion of a new iron plate was with difficulty placed on the outside, upon the worst part, and bolted through into a piece of stout oak plank, placed across it on the inside. The openings had by this time extended downwards, more than 3½ feet, on both sides of the vessel.

At this time she was at no great distance from Cape Vidal; but a tremendous current was setting to the south-west, at the rate of more than 50 miles a day, and helped to throw up a very

heavy, dangerous sea. At length the morning dawned once more, and, as the day advanced, the north-east gale moderated and gradually declined; until in the afternoon the wind changed round towards the south-east. The repairs to the damaged wheel were by this time completed, and although the injury to the ship's sides was hourly increasing, the hopes of all on board redoubled as they saw the double power of both wheels once more at work. But Delagoa Bay, for which they struggled still so hard, was not less than 200 miles distant. As night closed in again, the angry wind began to howl, and burst upon the fated bark in heavy gusts and squalls.

The only sail she now carried was torn away in shreds, and the steam itself had little power to stand the fury of the wind and waves. At length it lulled: again she moved, and yet again the mighty storm increased, and with alternate hopes and fears the morning's dawn was looked for. She heaved and strained most fearfully; the leaks increased; the openings spread, and yet she floated. 'Twas hoped that, as the day advanced, the storm would yield; but hour after hour, as it passed, had brought no sign of change or promise of amendment. The danger was at this time imminent; but it became so evident to all that the only chance of safety lay in labouring day and night with hearty good-will, that their very efforts produced confidence, which, in its turn, redoubled their strength. Nevertheless, it seemed as if new dangers were constantly in store.

The leaks continued to increase; the ship's sides strained and opened fearfully, and the apertures had by this time extended upwards completely to the deck, and downwards far below the water line. As the vessel heaved and rolled from side to side, the broken edges of the iron plates sometimes opened to an extent of an inch, while their lateral motion, as the vessel worked, in the part that had bulged, was frequently not less than 5 inches. As the storm increased, it was found that, in the short space of 2½ hours, and in spite of every exertion to strengthen the part, the openings on both sides had further increased in length no less than 18 inches.

The motion of the vessel, in such a pitching cross sea, was very quick; and every time the sides opened, the rush of wind and water through them was terrific. Luckily the engines were still able to work, and continued to pump the water out very fast, although the openings were actually close to the engine-room itself. But the dangerous state of the vessel was appalling, not only from the fear of her separating amidships, but from the chance of the bilge-pumps becoming choked, or the fires being put out by the rush of water. The struggle was evidently to be

one for life or death. She groaned and worked tremendously, and reports were brought in quick succession from different parts of the vessel, that she was fast breaking to pieces.

In this dilemma, it was still necessary to inspire the drooping spirits of the men with some new exertion. The captain tried to smile, and, by a cool, collected manner, sought to awaken hope which in secret he himself could scarcely feel. "You may smile, sir," said one of the sturdiest of the men, a hardy boiler maker by trade; "but you don't know the nature of iron; how should you?" (as if in pity of his ignorance,) and then added, as if for comfort, "Ah, sir, when once it works and cracks, as our sides are doing now, it's sure to go on; nothing can stop it." Every officer and man set-to again in earnest, to try to keep the ship together. One party was employed to nail down thick planks and spars upon the deck, fore and aft, over the broken part of the ship; others were busy bolting the ends of them into the sponson-beams, between the paddle-boxes; while another party, engineers and firemen, were busy strengthening the ship's sides below.

To understand this latter part of the condition of affairs, it must be explained that what in a wooden ship would be called the ribs are, in an iron one, called the "angle-irons." They are, in fact, strong angular bars, extending up and down the ship's sides like ribs, having a flat surface, to which the plates of iron are bolted. These angle-irons, or ribs, are seventeen inches distant from each other, and at about the centre, between two of them, the crack had taken place in the plates of iron. The accident had occurred precisely in the weakest part of the vessel, amidships; and it would seem probable that, as there was a heavy cross sea in the Mozambique Channel when the misfortune happened, the head of the vessel was held firm in the hollow of one sea at the moment the top of another sea struck her heavily on the quarter. It made her frame quiver; and her length and shallowness rendered her the more liable to suffer injury from a similar blow.

As regards the temporary repairs, it was evident that two contrivances were necessary for holding the broken plate together in its proper position. In the first place, small blocks of wood were fixed across between the angle-irons, from one to the other, in such a manner that they crossed each other like the letter X, and gave support against the working of the ship, and the tendency of the plates to overlap each other. Next, strong bolts or bars of iron were passed *through* the angle-irons from one to the other, and tightened by means of a nut and screw at their extremities. By these means, the angle-irons,

being now strongly connected together, were made to hold the edges of the broken plates in contact between them, which, as long as the bolts held good, would be quite sufficient as a temporary repair. But all these contrivances were adopted with extreme difficulty, and during a gale of wind, when all attempts of the kind appeared desperate. Fortunately, towards morning of the next day, the 26th, the gale slightly moderated; and these repairs being now completed as well as circumstances would permit, rendered the ship in all respects stronger, so that she strained much less than before.

By this time the land was not far distant, and the hopes of those who had most despaired revived again. By degrees the haze began to clear; the heavy sea had gradually diminished as the Nemesis approached the coast; and she at length ran into smooth water, near a bold cape. Never was the sound of the running out of a cable after an almost hopeless voyage heard with greater joy than on this occasion.

CHAPTER IV.

The anchorage which the Nemesis had now so providentially reached was situated close to Cape Inyache, at the entrance of Delagoa Bay. This settlement, which still belongs to the Portuguese, was once famous in the annals of slavery, as one of the principal marts in which that revolting traffic was carried on. It is still far from being undeserving of the stigma which attaches to its name, although it has greatly fallen from its once thriving condition. It is situated on the eastern coast of Africa, (see map,) and at daylight, on the morning of the 27th July, 1840, the Nemesis steamed into the river which runs into the bay, and is known by the name of English River.

The Portuguese have a small fort near its entrance, from which the approach of the steamer was no sooner discovered than a mighty stir was made. Steamers had scarcely even been heard of, much less seen. The object of her visit none could guess; but all were conscious of partaking more or less in both the sins and the profits of the slave-trade; and, therefore, all regarded the approaching vessel as no friendly visiter. Guns were made to bear, ammunition was got into readiness, and everything would have looked very formidable had it not been fully known that a single shot from the stern gun of the Nemesis would have made the walls tremble, and the defenders hide themselves.

Captain Hall being uncertain whether his reception would be friendly or otherwise, slowly passed up beyond the fort, to explore the river, and great was the surprise of all the lookers-on, to see the strange vessel under his command move so easily through water so shallow, that they thought it could scarcely float one of their smallest slavers. They had little dreamed that so large a vessel could, if necessary, pursue even the boats of the slavers into their most secret haunts. As she again descended and approached the fort, there was evidently some excitement, as if they doubted what would happen next. An aid-de-camp soon came on board from the governor of the fort, to inquire whence the vessel came, and what her object might be in visiting such an unfrequented place; but neither he nor any one on board could make each other understood.

On the same day, the captain and some of the officers of the Nemesis went on shore, to pay their respects to his Excellency, who affected to be exceedingly glad to see them, and shewed them all possible civility and attention. This was, no doubt, politic on his part, for he had every reason to believe that the Nemesis was a man-of-war, and he also well knew that, had she been so, it would have been a difficult matter for him to exculpate himself from the charge of openly aiding and abetting the slave-trade, which was at that very moment carried on under his own eyes, and within reach of his own guns. It was, moreover, sanctioned by the very flag flying at the peak of the slavers. Yet the same flag was hoisted on the fort itself, under the stipulations of a treaty by which its exertions were to be used to prevent the continuance of the horrid traffic in the river. A slaver was, in fact, lying in the river, not far from the fort, and, as the steamer was passing up, it was easily observed that the crew were deserting her, and trying to make their escape, leaving their craft at the mercy of a single boat's crew. But the Nemesis was not a man-of-war, and had no right to capture her; and it was therefore more politic not to seem to notice, in the first instance, what was very apparent to all. For some time, there was a difficulty in communicating with the governor at all, no one knowing the language; but, at length, a Parsee merchant was sent for, who could speak Hindostanee as well as Portuguese, and as there was also a man on board who could speak Hindostanee, a regular cross-fire conversation was thus maintained, in a roundabout manner.

As a settlement, Delagoa Bay is of very little use to the Portuguese, very few of whom reside there; and without the stain of slavery, it could scarcely linger on. There is, however, a limited trade in ivory and gold dust, and the coast is frequented

by whalers, particularly Americans, who come into the settlement for supplies. The narrative of Captain Owen's survey on the coast gives a melancholy picture of the deadly nature of the climate, which very few, either of his officers or his men, were fortunate enough to survive.

The fact of a slaver lying under the guns of the fort, and other little evidences that the governor was very backward in carrying out the instructions he had received respecting the slave-trade, went hard with him afterwards. This case was mentioned to the governor of Mozambique, under whose jurisdiction Delagoa Bay is placed, and by whom the deputy-governor is appointed. It will hereafter be seen, that *he* was, at all events, sincere and energetic in his efforts to stop the trade. He became excessively angry when the circumstances were stated to him, and declared that it was in violation of his most strict and positive orders, and instantly directed that the deputy-governor should be removed from his post.

The slaver, which was a fine Portuguese brig, was subsequently visited by some of the officers of the Nemesis, and found to be regularly fitted out for the trade, the planks for the slave-deck being all ready, with boilers for their food, and shackles, &c. Her masts and spars were large, and of excellent stuff, and advantage was soon taken of this circumstance, to procure some necessary materials for the repairs. There were some excellent timbers lying on the beach, which had probably belonged to some large ship wrecked in the neighbourhood. They were precisely such as would best suit the wants of our vessel; and, as it was stated that they belonged to a Portuguese merchant in the town, inquiry was at once made about the purchase of them. Various excuses, however, were made, and unnecessary difficulty suggested. It was evident that there was a "screw loose" somewhere or other, or else that they wished to impose an exorbitant price for them. A message was therefore immediately sent, declaring that if the timbers were not given up at a fair valuation, *within twenty minutes*, the captain of the Nemesis "would go on board the slaver with his men, and take the masts and spars out of *her*, and as they appeared to be exceedingly good ones, they would answer her purpose rather better."

No talisman could have acted more instantaneously than this well-timed threat, which, moreover, would certainly have been put in execution. The whole community, from the governor downwards, were more or less interested in the affair; the report rapidly reached the master of the slaver; his alarm was natural enough, and his reasons for urging the immediate

surrender of the timbers sufficiently evident. "Pray give them anything in the world they want," said he; "let me rather pay for it a dozen times over, than keep that strange-looking ship here. She will ruin us altogether; we must get rid of her in any way we can; give her, by all means, everything she wants, and let her be off, for mercy's sake." Long before the twenty minutes had expired, the timbers were given up. The governor himself, on the following day, the 29th of July, sent a present of some vegetables and ivory on board, and afterwards came in person to look at the ship, and was, to all appearance, so pleased with his reception, and doubtless, so well impressed with the appearance of the vessel, that he stayed to dinner, and did his best to show himself a good fellow.

The so-called "English River," which empties itself into the sea at Delagoa Bay, is, in reality, the estuary of three rivers, called the Temby, the Dundas, and the Mattoll. But they are none of them of much importance, considered separately, having their sources at scarcely more than a good day's journey from the entrance, and forming rather the drains of a rich, alluvial country, than the outlets of the superabundant waters of distant tiers of mountains. They run into the English River at the distance of little more than five miles above the fort. Their shores are generally bordered by an extensive muddy flat, gradually rising towards higher land, covered with large bushes, but which can hardly be said to be crowned with luxuriant woods. Nothing can be imagined more calculated, under a tropical sun, to produce the most deadly pestilence. No wonder that those who have endeavoured to trace these rivers, for even a short distance, have so commonly fallen victims to their enthusiasm.

The entrance to English River, from its breadth and general appearance, leads you to imagine it of greater importance than it really is. Yet it is not without something of a picturesque character; the sand-hills covered with calabash trees, and the aspect of the village and Portuguese Fort, tottering though it be, all present a refreshing picture, when first viewed after a long and dangerous voyage.

The neighbouring country is divided among different tribes, who are frequently at war with each other, and over whom the Portuguese have very little control. Their own factory, or fort, is situated on the north side of the river, in the country of Mafoomo. But the most warlike and troublesome of all the tribes are the so-called Hollontontes, living at some distance to the southward, and resembling, or indeed probably a branch of, the Zooloo Caffirs, of whom we have lately heard so much in

connexion with the unfortunate Dutch emigrant-farmers at Port Natal. These Hollontontes have, on more than one occasion, made themselves formidable to the Portuguese themselves.

On the 31st, the Nemesis was hauled on shore on the fine sandy beach near the fort, and, in fact, within range of its guns. On this day, a remarkable phenomenon occurred, which is worth mentioning; the more particularly as it was followed at night and during the subsequent day by a very heavy gale of wind, whose approach it might, in a manner, be said to have indicated. This was, in fact, the seventh great plague of Egypt, the plague of locusts, which filled the atmosphere in myriads, as far as the eye could reach on every side; and indeed much further, for, during the time it lasted, the very sky was darkened, and the whole air was filled with a sound as of "a mighty rushing wind," by the flapping of their wings. You could scarcely open either your eyes or your mouth, without fear of being blinded or choked by them. Fortunately, the visitation did not last long enough to produce extensive destruction, but it was nevertheless a source of great alarm and inconvenience.* Large quantities of locusts were collected by the natives for food; and it was a very curious sight, for two or three days afterwards, to watch the different groups of black men, as nearly naked as possible, crowding round their fires, with all the eagerness of hunger, and all the longing of an epicure, to enjoy a feast of locusts. They stripped off the wings and legs, and having slightly roasted or grilled them, appeared to find them a capital luxury, even not unworthy of the dance and song with which they accompanied their repast.

* In the account given of the Egyptian plague, it is stated "that the locusts were brought by an east wind," and were carried away "by a mighty strong west wind." I was curious to ascertain whether there was anything worth noting in relation to the state of the wind at Delagoa Bay when the locusts appeared, and when they were carried away again. On referring to the ship's log, I found that the day preceding the appearance of the locusts was one of perfect calm, but the morning of the day on which they came was ushered in by a *north-east wind* which lasted until the evening, when it changed round to precisely the opposite quarter—namely, to the south-west, and increased on the following day to a strong gale from the same quarter, which carried away all the locusts. Subsequently it again veered round to the north-east, and continued so for several days, but brought no more locusts,

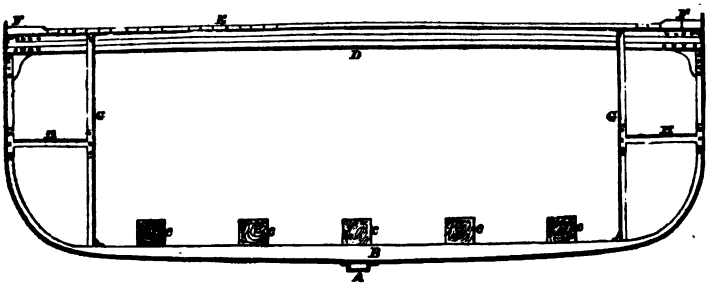
CHAPTER V.

No time was now lost in commencing the repairs of which the steamer stood so much in need. It will be remembered, that the structure of the ship's side has been elsewhere described, and that, the angle-irons are, in fact, the ship's ribs. The split amidships had taken place in the middle of the iron plate, between the two angle-irons immediately before the after sponson-beam. It extended downward full seven feet from the deck, on either side of the vessel; and, as the distance from the deck to the water-line, with a moderate draught of water, is only from three feet four inches to three feet six inches, it must have extended under water for about the same distance as it did above. But the whole *semi*-circumference of the vessel's hull is only about twenty-three feet and a half. Therefore, as the crack was full seven feet in length on each side of the ship, there only remained sixteen feet on each side of the ship's hull, or about two-thirds in all, not separated in two.

In other iron vessels more recently constructed by the same builder, Mr. Laird, of Birkenhead, it is satisfactory to know that full provision has been made against the recurrence of any similar accidents. The Phlegethon, which was afterwards built upon the same model, has been constructed in such a manner, by the addition of bulk-heads, &c., that not only could there be no apprehension of the accident, but an almost impossibility of its recurrence. The accompanying woodcut will explain the improvement.

TRANSVERSE SECTION AT THE ENGINE-ROOM OF H.E.I. COMPANY'S IRON STEAM VESSEL PHLEGETHON.

Shewing the method of giving additional strength by originally building-in the coal-box bulkheads as part of the vessel.



A Keel. B Floorings. C Keelsons. D Deck beams (iron). E Deck.

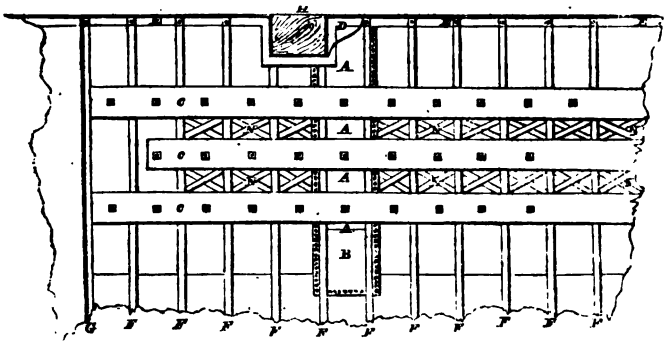
F Covering board, 18ft. by 4in.
G Longitudinal iron bulkheads, built into the vessel, forming the sides of the coal-boxes.
H Angle-iron stay-beam between.
I *Side-frame* and coal-box bulkhead.

N.B.—These bulkheads appear to have remedied the weakness complained of in the Nemesis, as the Phlegethon is reported, after nearly three years' hard service (including the passage round the Cape, when she experienced very bad weather,) in as good order as when she left England, never having required any alteration or strengthening.

The first thing now to be done was evidently to remove the broken iron plates, and to rivet in new ones in their place. In order to provide for additional strengthening of the vessel inside, the large timbers which had been purchased were made use of, as being exactly adapted for the purpose. Three of these were placed across the angle-irons against the side of the vessel, the longest and stoutest, which was twenty-three feet in length, one foot broad, and six inches thick, being placed highest up, about two or three feet below the deck. This was secured in its place by bolts, each a foot long, which were run through the ship's sides, one at the centre of the space between each of the angle-irons. As there would, however, be a space left between the face of the beam and the side of the vessel, except at those points where it rested upon the angle-irons, this interval was filled up with well-seasoned red pine, which added very much to the solidity of the contrivance. To "make assurance doubly sure," two other beams, of the same depth and thickness, but not of the same length, and secured in a similar manner, were also employed. By this means, it is very evident that the ship was made a vast deal stronger than she ever was before, though not stronger than was proper for her size and shape. The whole length of the new plates put in the ship's sides was eight feet two inches; and so effectually was the work done that the whole remained perfect, stringers and all, at the end of two years and a half of severe and uninterrupted service.

These contrivances added very little to the weight of the vessel, and gave very great support in the weakest part, and just where it was most required, to enable her to carry coals on deck, &c.

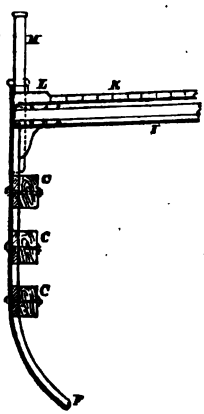
PLAN SHEWING THE SIDE OF THE NEMESIS REPAIRED AND STRENGTHENED BY STRINGERS.



A The old plate cut away between the Angle-iron frames.
B Part of the old plate left remaining inside the new.
C Stringers, 1ft. by 6in.; the space under them between the angle-irons made solid with wood.
D Knee.
E Deck angle-iron.
F Angle-iron side-frames.
G Coal-box bulkhead angle-iron.
H Paddle-beam, of wood, 21in. by 15.
N Diagonal bracing of wood between the stringers.

N.B. Stringers secured by seven-eighths in. bolts driven through all, between each two angle-irons.

END VIEW OF THE STRINGERS, SHEWING ALSO THE SECTION OF THE SHIP'S SIDE.



I Deck beam of iron.

K Flat of deck.

L Covering board, 12 in. by 4 in.

M Waist stanchion.

C Ends of the stringers.

During her detention of twelve days, the Nemesis had been an object of great curiosity to the native Africans, as well as

to the Portuguese settlers. The chiefs of some of the tribes were occasionally allowed to look at the vessel, and expressed the greatest possible astonishment at what they saw. It happened to be just the time of year when the king of one of the tribes most friendly to the Portuguese (probably, as it appeared, because they have large dealings together in slaves) usually came down from his own country, about thirty miles distant, to pay his annual visit to the governor. On these occasions, there is a vast attempt on both sides to appear very friendly to each other, with precisely that degree of sincerity which, as a *minimum*, is indispensable to the advantageous barter of slaves and ivory for iron and spirits, or occasionally gold-dust for various trifling articles, which in the eyes of a savage possess inestimable value.

The native chief who came to do honour to the governor was a decrepit old man, nearly seventy years of age, attended by seven or eight hundred of his most doughty warriors, partially clothed in skins, and ornamented with ostrich-feathers stuck in their heads. He himself, as being a very great man, was clothed in a loose sort of dressing-gown, with a red night-cap on his head, a present from the governor himself. Every man had three spears of different sizes, probably to be thrown at different distances, together with a stout club and shield; and in the use of these weapons they exhibited great dexterity. The governor had invited Captain Hall and his officers to witness the performance of their war-dance, which was, in reality, as savage an exhibition as it is possible to conceive.

As evening advanced, the attendants of the old chief were called upon to drink the governor's health, out of a large *tub full* of rum; and, in order to ensure fair play, a corporal stood by with a stout cane in his hand, with which he most courageously belaboured all those who showed an uncivilized disposition for helping themselves to more than their share. But the passions of the savage are not so easily to be subdued; and, if the mere sight and smell of the liquor had warmed them up into something like a quarrelsome mood, what was to be expected from the actual taste and fire of it? Words ran high, and all the threatening gestures of the excited savage promised even bloodshed; until, at length, the corporal's stick being insufficient to allay the disturbance, he very quietly upset the whole remaining contents of the tub, and soon dispersed the mighty men of war, in apparent reconciliation.

The negro tribes of these parts adopt the practice of tattooing their faces, but not in that peculiarly neat and regular manner for which the New Zealanders are distinguished. It is here

more like a rude system of notching the skin, as if done rather to show how manfully they can endure pain than as a mere ornamental art. A more sensible practice among some of the tribes about Delagoa Bay, is that of shaving a large portion of the thick wool off their heads, tending greatly to cleanliness in a tropical country. Occasionally it is trimmed into some fanciful shape, like the old yew-trees in some of our English villages, which stand forth as curious specimens of nature improved; while, again, the natives on some parts of the Madagascar coast, generally stout, athletic men, divide their hair into little tufts all over the head, each of which is frequently tied round the roots, and thus made to stand out on all sides in little knobs, giving a very singular appearance to the head, more particularly when they are seen working side by side, as I have often witnessed at the Mauritius, with close-shaved Indian or Chinese labourers.

As the king above-mentioned and his followers had come from a considerable distance, and were reported to possess great influence among their neighbours, it was thought a good opportunity both to impress them with a knowledge of our power, and to conciliate them by a show of our good-nature. There was the more reason for this, in consequence of pretty certain evidence having been obtained that the crew of an American trading vessel, which had been wrecked on the coast not long before, had been most barbarously treated by the tribe into whose hands they fell. As such a misfortune might again happen, it was thought by Captain Hall a good opportunity to make an impression upon the native tribes, which was sure to be communicated from one to the other, by means of the old king and his adherents. Accordingly, the old man (who was called Appelli by the Portuguese) was one day invited to go on board the Nemesis, with one or two of his attendants. The vessel had by this time been got nearly ready for sea, and, in order to produce greater effect upon all the lookers-on, was dressed out with her flags, and, being newly-painted, presented a very gay appearance. A Portuguese merchant accompanied the veteran chief to the ship as interpreter, and, rather unexpectedly, several women also came off with him, dressed in showy colours, and impelled, perhaps, as much by the flattering thought that they would quite astonish the white men, as by the mere feeling of curiosity.

The moment the king put his foot upon the deck, the single fife and drum which were on board set up "God save the king!" and the old man appeared well pleased both with the tune and the attention. After this, a particularly ugly, repulsive-looking

fellow, who turned out to be the king's fool, though as old as the king himself, set up a most discordant note of admiration upon three reeds which he held in his hand, something after the manner of pan-pipes. At intervals he treated you to a sort of explanatory text of his own, in the shape of a few uncouth words, yelled out in a manner particularly edifying to all *except* those in whose honour it is supposed they were especially poured forth. His appearance was rendered more uncouth by a large bag tied under his chin, for what purpose was not very evident, but probably to contain either his charms or his tobacco.

The queen herself had also accompanied her lord upon this occasion, and exhibited no fear and certainly no beauty. Picture to yourself a young sable queen, a capital caricature of one of the Egyptian statues in black marble, plump and shiny as her prototype, only less expressive. Then invest her in your imagination with sundry huge scars about her cheek and nose; not those delicate lines and graceful curves which decorate the upper lip of royalty among New Zealand tribes, but regular lumps, squeezed up and dried, as it were into large warts, particularly about the nose, as if a race of gigantic musquitoes had held a feast there! However, to do justice to the lady's rank, if not to her looks, Captain Hall thought proper to shew her due attention, and, accordingly, a glass of wine was offered to her, as well as to her lord. The old man, though at first suspicious, like all half-savages, very gladly swallowed it, as soon as one of the officers had tasted it first. But for the queen wine was not good enough; rum was the nectar for her—*that* was the soul-stirring influence which could bend her pride, and warm her heart to gentleness.

Having by these means warmed the royal pair to good humour, the next thing was to bewilder them with astonishment. This was not difficult. They were requested to examine the ship's side, and to assure themselves that she was made entirely of iron. A loud Heugh! was their exclamation. To them it seemed a boundless mine of wealth, that mass of precious stuff, to purchase which was all their ambition. They were calculating in their own minds how many thousands and tens of thousands of slaves they would have to procure, before they could be able to obtain so much of the valued metal. But, when the engine was shewn to them, with all its polished bars, and massive parts, and its uses partly explained through the interpreter, their astonishment knew no bounds.

Before the chief's departure, great care was taken to explain to him the barbarous cruelties which had been committed upon the shipwrecked seamen by some of the tribes on the coast. He declared that he had never heard of the occurrence, and affected

to be very much horrified at it. He was made to understand that he was to communicate to all the people of his tribe, as well as to all others whom he might fall in with, that, if ever any injury were done to any white men when driven upon any part of the coast, an iron vessel, even more terrible than the one he was then in, would be sent to punish the people. On the contrary, if he conducted himself peaceably, and treated white men well on all occasions, he would be considered the friend of the English and of all other white men. He was also to make it publicly known wherever he went, that white men were always to be treated kindly when in distress. This he promised to do, with every appearance of sincerity, and upon the whole shewed more intelligence than might have been expected.

In consideration of the king's promises, and in order the more fully to gain his influence, a present was made to him, the most valuable he could have received—namely, a musket and bayonet, with its accoutrements. His surprise and delight were beyond all bounds; he almost seemed to get young again with pleasure as he grasped the precious weapon in his hands. On leaving the vessel, he insisted on shaking hands with almost every one on board. On the following day, he returned to the ship in high glee, bringing with him his own spear and shield, with other implements of war and of the chase, which he laid at the captain's feet, as the most valuable presents he could offer to a "faithful ally."

CHAPTER VI.

The circumstances relating to the distressed seamen on the coast, alluded to in the foregoing chapter, were first stated by one of the unfortunate sufferers himself, who accosted, in very good English, some of the officers of the Nemesis, as they were returning to their ship, and soon proved himself to have belonged to an American vessel, but stated that he was a native of Hanover. His name was Samuel Reid, or something very much like it. His right eye and lower jaw appeared to have been dreadfully wounded, and gave a practical introduction to the following tale, every part of which there is too much reason to believe is strictly true.

It appears that an American schooner, called the Colonel Crockett, of one hundred and forty tons, belonging to Newburgh, U.S., sailed from New York in the summer of 1839, bound on a voyage to the West Coast of Africa, to procure bullocks for salting, principally for the St. Helena market. She subsequently,

also, proceeded to Madagascar, and touched at Delagoa Bay, on the way to Inhampura River, high up on the east coast, to trade for ivory. There she remained three weeks, without being able to accomplish her object. In working out of it again, in May, 1840, she missed stays, and went on shore on the sand at the river's mouth. They tried in vain to get the vessel off on the following day, there not being enough men fit for work, as all except three, out of eleven, were sick with fever. There she lay, nearly high and dry. It seems they had only one boat remaining, which was too small to contain all the people, and, therefore, it was agreed that the captain and second mate, (Samuel Reid,) with two men, should start off in her, and try to reach Delagoa Bay, which was only about seventy miles distant, where they were to procure a larger boat and other assistance, and then return to bring away the remainder of the crew, and whatever could be saved from the wreck.

Unfortunately, they found the surf beating over the bar at the mouth of the Inhampura so heavily, that they could not succeed in getting the boat out. In this predicament, the captain and second mate volunteered to set out together, to try to reach Delagoa Bay by land—a most hazardous experiment under any circumstances, with the dangers of the fatal fevers, and the treachery of the savage native tribes, staring them in the face. The attempt was, in fact, almost hopeless. Nevertheless, on the morning of the 9th of May, 1840, they landed from the vessel, totally unarmed, thinking, probably, that it would be both useless and laborious for two men to carry arms which they could scarcely use for more than one or two discharges, owing to the difficulty of carrying ammunition.

They proceeded for about twenty to twenty-five miles on that day, without molestation, but were at length joined by three natives, one of whom left them, under the pretence of going to procure water, while the other two lighted a fire, and began to roast some corn, of which they all partook equally. In the mean time, the native who had been absent returned, bringing with him seven others.

The captain, being anxious to make the most of his time, determined to proceed, although the day was fast declining. But, in order to relieve themselves from the weight of their bags of clothes which they had each brought with them, they entrusted them to the care of the natives who followed. On arriving at the bottom of a steep hill, where there was a picturesque valley, they all halted for the night, and soon made a capital fire. As might have been expected, the curiosity of the natives, to say nothing of their treacherous disposition, could not withstand the tempta-

tion of looking into the bags they had carried, to examine their contents. This was resisted by the captain, who was rather a hasty man; a scuffle ensued, and thus the opportunity the natives sought for was at once afforded them.

Their intentions might have been foreseen the moment the man left the party, ostensibly to look for water, but in reality to look for assistance. And although a natural dread of the white men had hitherto prevented them from openly commencing their attack—waiting, probably, for a more favourable opportunity at nightfall—a quarrel having once arisen, however trifling, their savage blood was roused, and all their bad feelings awakened. They immediately rose in a body, and made a general discharge of their spears at the two unhappy white men. The captain faced them boldly, and soon received several severe wounds in front, and at last tried to save himself by flight. But, wounded as he was, they soon overtook him, and struck him down, it is to be hoped, quite dead, although even that does not appear certain.

The mate, on the other hand, who stood sideways to receive the discharge of spears, presenting a narrower surface than in front, was wounded with two spears in the right arm, and one in the neighbourhood of the right eye, and, having picked up one of them, made a furious charge at those who were nearest to him, and killed two of the savages on the spot. Numbers, however, necessarily prevailed over the most desperate courage, and he was at last struck down by a heavy blow of a club over the head, and, being senseless, was considered dead. They now dragged him towards the fire, as he afterwards found, and must have struck him several heavy blows upon different parts of the body. On coming to himself again, he found that he was stripped of all his clothes, lying naked upon the sand, and so exhausted that he could neither speak nor move. Gradually, however, becoming sensible of his helpless situation, he looked around him, from time to time, unobserved; and, at length, to his great horror, discovered the body of his unfortunate captain lying by the side of the fire, and several natives standing around it, some of whom were busy cutting off slices from the fleshy parts of the body, while others roasted them in the fire, with all the appearance of anxious longing for the feast!

Can any situation be conceived more horrible than that of the unfortunate wounded man at this moment? If he betrayed symptoms of life, he was sure to be beaten to death with heavy clubs; if he lay quiet, to all appearance lifeless, it was far from improbable that, when they should have become satiated with the flesh of his companion, they might be ready to commence their butchery upon himself. Who can picture to himself without

horror the dreadful moments which lingered as they passed, and seemed endless in the anxiety of suspense! There the poor fellow lay, in speechless agony, the fated witness of barbarity the most revolting.

At length, having gorged themselves with that horrible repast in the peculiar manner which those who have ever seen the hungry savage at his meal can never forget, they fell asleep round the fire, under the full oppression of repletion. The poor mate, perceiving this, made a desperate effort to rouse himself from his death-like dreaminess, and try to fly from his impending fate, he knew not how or whither. He could not stand, he could not walk, and almost fainted with the effort; yet he crawled on hands and knees towards the neighbouring bush or thicket, and there contrived to hide himself.

He lay concealed, in helplessness, until the following day, when he was discovered by the restless eye of the suspicious savage. He asked, by signs, for water; but not only was that refused to him, but he was given to understand, without difficulty, that they looked forward to the pleasure of eating him for their evening meal with particular satisfaction; and a sort of rude table was pointed out to him, upon which they intended to cut him up for their repast, according to their most approved fashion. After this, they left him alone in his misery. It should be mentioned, that when they refused him drink, they *did* give him a little food, which they *forced* him to eat, and—horrible to think of!—it was not improbably a part of his murdered companion, upon which they had regaled themselves the evening before.

As night approached, the man, finding himself somewhat recovered from the shock of his wounds, made another desperate effort to escape. He could now walk; and slowly and cautiously he pursued his way, tracing back his course with the almost unerring instinct which the resolution of despair awakens. The darkness of the night favoured him; and, by sometimes diving into the wood for concealment, sometimes resting in the darkest part of the thicket to collect his failing strength, and then again boldly urging on his course along the more open beach by the sea-side, he at length eluded all his pursuers. They had followed him, for some distance, in vain; and he safely reached, on the following day, the schooner he had left, completely exhausted and helpless.

Here he found that, even during his short absence, death had done its work among his messmates on board. As there was no hope of procuring relief on shore, another attempt was made to get the boat over the bar—and with success. In this the chief

mate, with two other men, embarked, in the hope of being able to make their passage along the coast to Delagoa Bay. The attempt succeeded; and, at the end of five days, a large boat was descried approaching the wreck, which had been hired by their comrades from the Portuguese authorities for two hundred dollars, for the purpose of bringing them off. But their troubles were not yet destined to end. A heavy sea still continued to beat upon the bar, creating such a surf that they were compelled to wait at least fourteen days more before they could leave the schooner. They were at length able to embark; and, carrying with them the most portable articles of value they could stow away, they succeeded in reaching Delagoa Bay.

It has more than once been suspected that some of the tribes on the eastern coast of Africa were cannibals, under certain circumstances: but others again, and Captain Owen among the number, have declared that, "on inquiry, even their greatest enemies acquitted them of the suspicion." There does not, however, appear to be any well-grounded reason for calling in question the truth of the statement made by this unfortunate man, Reid. His tale was told to Captain Hall with every appearance of truth; and, although it might be suggested that the man was not unlikely to have been in a state of dreamy delirium, after the wounds and blows he had received upon the head, and might have been led by fear to imagine what he pictured to himself to be true, still this is a very unsatisfactory answer to a simple tale of facts, artlessly told, and without any object to be gained by inventing a case of horror. Besides which, he could hardly have found his way back to the schooner without assistance, had he not perfectly recovered his senses before he started. Two of the unfortunate men entered as able seamen on board the Nemesis, with liberty to be discharged when they pleased, and continued on board until she arrived at Singapore; but the second mate preferred waiting for any American vessel that might touch at the settlement. I have before mentioned that the Portuguese have been very far from advancing the civilization of the natives. There is certainly no love for each other between them; and the debasing influences of the slave-trade seem universally to poison the heart, and destroy all the sympathies of our nature. One poor native woman was discovered who spoke English tolerably well, and was found to have been extremely useful as interpreter to all the English and American vessels, whalers, and others, which touched there for supplies. For what particular reason does not appear, but this woman had been strictly forbidden by the governor to go on board the Nemesis, under pain of the severest punishment; indeed, she had been kept in close confinement

nearly ever since the arrival of the vessel. But, at length, when an American whaler came into the bay, she was allowed to visit *that ship* as usual. There was something peculiarly artless and good-natured about the poor woman's manner, and she expressed a particular wish to be allowed to see some person from the English ship. Word was accordingly brought from the American captain to that effect.

Her tale was a remarkable one, and told with considerable intelligence. She expressed her attachment to the English in strong terms, enumerated the various kindnesses she had received from them, inquired after particular ships and individuals, and seemed to remember almost every trifling incident that had occurred. She was greatly afraid of being punished by the governor for having dared to talk to the English, but could assign no particular grounds for the harsh treatment she received. It was, however, shrewdly suspected that it arose from fear that she might furnish information about the slave-trade, and that, in fact, her remarks might already have been very useful to the English cruisers, and, consequently, injurious to the Portuguese dealers. It has been before stated that the governor himself was not free from the suspicion of countenancing the traffic; and, taking all the circumstances together, it became pretty evident that this poor woman's treatment was only one of the links in the chain of turpitude forged out of the iron rod of slavery.

For the first time since the arrival of the Nemesis, Captain Hall and some of his officers were now able to leave the ship for a day, and make an interesting excursion up the river. They started early in the morning, accompanied by a Portuguese merchant and his servant. It being the least unhealthy season of the year, there was little or no danger to be apprehended from sickness, particularly as it was not their intention to remain out at night.

The Dundas, one of the three streams that form the English River, was chosen for this excursion, as there was good expectation of finding large herds of hippopotami upon its banks, and perhaps other wild animals, which would furnish a capital day's sport. The banks were low, and the stream sluggish, and on all sides abundance of mangrove shrubs and bushes, sufficient of themselves to indicate that the country must frequently be flooded. Birds of various kinds, particularly such as feed upon small fish and worms, were seen in great numbers, curlews and crows, and occasionally a pelican, with wild geese and pigeons, and now and then birds of more beautiful plumage.

As the boat ascended, four wild buffaloes were seen at a distance, and a beautiful zebra was descried, galloping away from

the river-side. But the most striking objects were the numerous hippopotami, in the midst of whose favourite haunts the party now found themselves. A more curious or exciting scene can scarcely be imagined; and when it was resolved to continue the ascent, in the hope of having some fine sport, the Portuguese merchant was so alarmed, that he very humbly requested that he might be left behind. The strange animals opened their huge mouths, and bellowed forth a sound something like the roar of an ox in concert with the grunt of a wild boar, with a little accompaniment of the braying of an ass. They did not at first seem frightened, but shewed their formidable-looking teeth, as if they had some right to frighten others. Hundreds of them started up at different times, some rising from the shallow mud in which they had been lying, and hastening off with a quick, heavy tread; others, again, just raising their heads from the deeper parts of the river, and diving again like porpoises. Several of them were fired at and wounded, upon which they dived instantly out of sight, without rising again. Indeed, they are hardly ever killed in such a way as to be taken on the spot at once; but, dying under water, the carcase of course rises to the surface after two or three days, and is then taken possession of by the natives. Their flesh is eaten with great avidity in times of scarcity; but, generally speaking, they are more valued for the beautiful ivory of their teeth, which are collected and bartered for various articles of European manufacture.

Several natives were seen paddling about the river in their little canoes, apparently without any fear of the hippopotami, and one party of them was spoken to, and appeared harmless and contented; but their invitation to land and look at the country was not accepted, as there was little time to spare, and their treacherous character was sufficiently known to make it imprudent to divide a small party into still smaller ones. They, however, explained very intelligibly the mode in which they contrived to kill the hippopotami, by sometimes making a regular charge at some of them, singled out on purpose, with their spears. To effect this, they go in large numbers together, but the expedition is attended with considerable danger, and rarely resorted to, except in times of dearth. A more common method is to lay traps of various kinds for them, either upon the banks of the river itself, or among the neighbouring trees, a party being constantly at hand, in concealment, to despatch them at the last moment.

The whole distance ascended, from the junction of the Dundas with the English River, was about seven or eight miles, when the water became so shallow that the boats could scarcely proceed.

Towards evening, therefore, the party descended with the ebb-tide, having the full light of the moon to guide them down to their ship, after a laborious but very agreeable day, which fully repaid them by the interesting objects which presented themselves to their notice.

Their last day had now arrived; and, with a view to shew Captain Hall and his officers every possible attention, as well as to conciliate their good offices, the governor invited them to a grand entertainment, on which occasion all the delicacies of the African coast had been sought out to do honour to the guests, and nothing was omitted which could contribute to the novelty and perfection of the entertainment. The exterior of the governor's residence was something like a good-sized English cottage, consisting of only one floor, as is commonly the case in hot countries, and having two white pillars in front, which supported a portion of the roof, serving at the same time for a verandah. It was ornamented with green branches for the occasion, affording a very necessary protection from the glare of the sun, which was still high and powerful. There were several other smaller cottages disposed around it, something in the form of a square, but not a single tree or other relieving object to soften the burning reflection from the deep sand which formed the site of the fort and of the governor's residence. The dinner went off with great éclat, and no little amusement at the original attempts of the black waiters (of course slaves) to vie with European refinement. Towards evening, when tea had at length been handed round, the entertainment concluded with, "for the last time of performance," a dance of the native women belonging to the neighbouring village. The whole affair lasted for about an hour, when, glad to escape the heat and noise, the officers returned to their ship.

It appears very evident that formerly the slave trade was carried on at Delagoa Bay with greater atrocity than at present, but enough is still known respecting it to make us look upon the natives themselves as the worst abettors of the traffic. The passions of the savage chiefs seem only to be withheld for a moment, not suppressed, by the difficulty of procuring slaves; and when they can neither find enemies to seize, nor *culprits to condemn*, they sometimes send a sort of marauding expedition to seize by treachery *their own people*, and sell them into slavery. It is stated by Captain Owen, that, within even a few years, under a former commandant, some of the chiefs had been persuaded to sell their harmless subjects for so trifling a sum as a dollar and a half each, or about seven shillings, to be paid, not in money, but in merchandize of trifling value, and that several

cargoes had been obtained in this way for the Brazilian market.

If we look for the most thriving mart for slaves upon the east coast of Africa at the present time, we shall find it at the river Quillimane, a little more than five hundred miles to the north of Delagoa Bay. It lies about midway between that settlement and Mozambique. There the slaves are purchased for coarse cloth, gunpowder, beads, cutlery, &c.; and the "arrival of one of the little traders, with his pedlar-kind of stock, among one of the native tribes in the interior, is the signal for general warfare, in which the weak become the victims of the strong." A few years ago, no fewer than five thousand slaves were annually exported from this mart alone to Rio Janeiro.

CHAPTER VII.

All preparations being at length completed, on the morning of the 17th of August, just twenty days after having so providentially reached her port of refuge, the Nemesis was once more ready to continue her voyage. On the 22nd, she passed near the group of Rocky Islands, called Bassa da India, which are situated nearly in the middle of the channel, and pursued her voyage under sail. Of course, her progress was slow against an adverse wind, and no little anxiety was felt by her captain, on account of the uncertainty of the compasses, and their discrepancy with each other. She arrived, however, safely at Mozambique on the afternoon of the 31st, without having had occasion to use her engines, except just to carry her into the anchorage.

As she passed through the outer roads, she communicated with H.M. brig Acorn, Captain Adams, which was on the look-out for two slavers daily expected to arrive for cargoes; and, the better to entrap them, she had hoisted a sort of decoy-flag at her main, which she had already taken from one of the same class. While a short visit was being paid on board, a pilot came off from the shore to conduct the Nemesis into the inner harbour, where she was soon brought to, within a quarter of a mile of the town. Little time, however, could be spared for the visit, but there was still some necessary work to be done on board, which could not be completed until the following day.

It will be remembered that, before leaving Liverpool, a long series of experiments had been made, which were intended to provide means of counteracting the local action of the iron of the

ship's hull upon the compasses. But no worse place can be imagined than a crowded dock for the purpose of carrying on experiments of such nicety. Disturbing causes were continually operating, and the accident she met with on her way to Portsmouth proved that the correctness of the compasses was very far from being satisfactory. The experiments which were afterwards made at Portsmouth were also very doubtful in their result, in all probability owing, as before explained, to the absence of the boxes of chain or broken iron, which are always used by Professor Airey. It may readily be imagined that the utmost anxiety was always felt on board the vessel on this account, particularly when near the land; and many a long and anxious night has been spent on deck, with frequently a leadsman upon each of the paddle-boxes, to take soundings, and one in the bowsprit besides.

The large magnets, as originally placed in their positions, have never been moved, neither has the compass been changed in the slightest degree. But although they have greatly *modified* the errors, they have by no means sufficed to correct them. It has been always found the safest course not to put faith in the compasses at all; or rather, in this instance, observation shewed that a compass, suspended in a box from a cross spar, at the height of ten or twelve feet above the head of the man at the helm, acted with much more accuracy than any other, and it was always the most relied on whenever it could be used.

It is scarcely to be doubted that the vessel has often made a longer passage than she would have done had the compasses been correct; for, in bad weather, when observations of the celestial bodies could not be taken, she could scarcely have avoided making many errors in her course. But nowhere were these difficulties felt more anxiously than in this passage through the Mozambique Channel, where land could never be very far distant.

The necessity for a constant good look-out, and for two or even three men in the chains, produced anxiety and fatigue in itself; while it was also necessary for the officers to have the advantage of taking the altitudes of the stars, whenever the night was clear enough, not only once, but many times during the night. The compasses not only differed from the true points, but differed also from each other; and particularly in the Mozambique Channel, it was observed that they differed more than elsewhere, without being influenced however by the rapid atmospheric changes which prevailed. The more the ship's course was directed towards the true pole, the less was the error of the compass; but gradually, as her course was changed

towards the east or west, so did the errors and discrepancies of the compasses increase.

It is satisfactory to know that the same degree of difficulty was not experienced on board the other iron steamers which were sent out afterwards; and as the Nemesis was the first of her class that ever made the voyage, it is right here to record the difficulties she encountered under this head. Many an anxious watch has been spent on deck, trying to catch the altitude of particular stars as they emerged, for a moment, from the dense clouds or haze; and much of this kind of labour, so frequently repeated, would have been saved had her compasses been trustworthy.*

It is now time to return to the anchorage at Mozambique, where we left the Nemesis. Of course, as she passed the principal Portuguese fort she fired a salute, which was returned, and immediately became the signal to the whole town that something uncommon was to be expected. The arrival of a large steamer was soon made known in every direction, and not only became a source of curiosity to all, but an object of great alarm to many. The first impression was that she was sent purposely to put an end to the slave-trade at that place, and the consternation became general; for the governor, of whom more will presently be said, at once encouraged this opinion, which, he felt assured, would strengthen his power, as it did his determination, which was proved to be perfectly sincere, to do his utmost to stop the trade. Those most interested in the traffic had already begun openly to defy his power, and had not hesitated to declare to him that they would still carry it on in some of the shallow rivers, where vessels of war could not approach them. But the sight of a large steamer, running along close in shore, almost as if she were a small boat, drawing at the same time only five feet and a half of water, at once damped their ardour. They never could have

* With respect to the effects of lightning upon an iron ship, the danger which was to be apprehended from the attraction, both of the vessel as a body, and of its particular parts as points for an electric fluid to touch upon in its passage between the clouds and the earth, no inconvenience whatever seems to have been felt. Much had been said about it in England before her departure for a tropical region. The timid, and those less acquainted with the subject, openly expressed their apprehensions; the learned smiled with more of curiosity than fear; but the officers of the vessel itself were too busy about other matters to think much about the question. During their voyage to the southward, when many dangers were encountered, certainly that from lightning was among the least thought of; and now as they were passing through the Mozambique Channel, a part of the world particularly famous for its heavy storms of thunder and lightning, not the slightest effect from it was observed upon the iron vessel. The funnel has a perfectly smooth top, without any ornamental points such as are sometimes seen; and the main rigging and funnel stays were made of chain at the top, and rope throughout the rest.

dreamed that a large heavily-armed vessel could move wherever she pleased through their smallest streams; and their alarm was proportioned to their surprise.

Shortly before this, there had been so strong a disposition to resist the governor's power, that it had amounted almost to rebellion; and his Excellency, though a bold man, and the first governor of the Portuguese possessions on that coast who had come with the honest determination to stop the trade at all hazards, found himself in a very awkward position. He, however, felt himself strong enough to take extreme measures, the moment he saw the steamer so close to the town. He afterwards admitted that her arrival was most opportune, and so pleased was he, at the same time, that he turned at once upon the slave-dealers; that very day he seized two large slavers, condemned them on the spot, and publicly sold them by auction before the day was over. Such vigorous measures had been quite unknown under any former governor, and at once proved, both to the Portuguese and to the world, that he meant to keep his word. He had before taken strong measures against the dealers in slaves, but this bold step was the finishing stroke of his policy, and at once filled all parties with dismay. In fact, trade of all kinds was stagnant for the moment, in consequence of the measures adopted; and large heaps of valuable ivory were lying there useless, in consequence of the impossibility, or, at all events, extreme hazard, of sending to sea the usual slave-ships, which would convey it to a market.

The governor is a brigadier-general in the Portuguese service, by name Joachim Pereira Morinho, and formerly served under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula. He had not been long on the coast; but, having come with a full determination to destroy the slave-trade, or, at all events, to do his utmost towards it, he had already been long enough there to gain the ill-will of all the Portuguese residents. Indeed, he did not live altogether in security from violence, arising from the vindictive feelings of those interested in the traffic; and he had, therefore, requested Capt. Adams, in the Acorn, to remain there as long as he could, to afford him protection; and had also detained a small brig-of-war, belonging to his own country, named the Villa Flora, to overawe the seafaring part of the population.

The governor seemed to entertain the best feelings towards the English generally, with whom he had associated a good deal, and particularly inquired what assistance he could give to the Nemesis. As fuel and vegetables were most in request, they were mentioned. He appeared quite pleased to have it in his power to furnish something that would be of use to her; and, to the gratification of every one, a large boat came off to the ship early in the morning,

bringing a fat ox, four sheep, a large pig, and some vegetables and fruit; besides which there was also a large country boat, full of wood, containing 8,000 pieces. In addition to these very handsome presents, he also proposed to fill up the ship's water free of expense. This was accompanied by a note in Portuguese, from the secretary-general of the province, Don Antonio Julio di Castro Pinto, who was charged by his Excellency to offer the good things above-mentioned, "as a mark of his good-will, and of his sense of the service which the visit of the Nemesis would render to the cause of anti-slavery, and, at the same time, as a trifling present to a brother in arms from an old soldier, grown grey in the service of his country, both at home and abroad."

Nothing could have been more acceptable, and, through the active assistance which the Nemesis received, she was enabled to proceed on her voyage, after little more than a day's delay. As an acknowledgment of his Excellency's attention, a trifling present of some capital hollands, preserved salmon, and English pickles, were sent to him, which were very great luxuries in that part of the world, and appeared to be duly appreciated. His Excellency had never before seen a steamer in those parts; and, the better to acknowledge his good-nature, and increase the sensation which her arrival had produced, he was invited by Captain Hall to come on board to look at the ship, and to partake of such refreshment as she had to offer. This was, accordingly, a grand day for all parties, and the 1st of September, 1840, will, on many accounts, be long remembered at Mozambique.

His Excellency came in his state-barge, attended by all his suite, in full uniform, under a salute from the batteries and the Portuguese brig-of-war, while crowds of spectators stood upon every point on shore, whence a good view could be obtained. The deck of the Nemesis, though rather crowded with visitors, presented a gay appearance, from the variety of uniforms and foreign orders, which all those who were entitled to them, not few in number, displayed upon the occasion.

Sufficient time having been spent in viewing the ship and inspecting the machinery, which few of them had ever seen before, the whole party sat down to a grand *déjeûner à la fourchette*. The healths of the Queens of England and of Portugal were drunk with three times three, followed immediately by a salute of twenty-one guns, both from the steamer and the Portuguese brig. The effect of this upon the inhabitants was by no means unimportant; it impressed them more than ever with the conviction, that the governments of the two countries were perfectly united in their determination to suppress the slave-trade; and the sound of the royal salutes ringing in their ears completely put an end, for

the moment certainly, to all their inclinations to resist the governor's authority.

In proof of his determination to do his utmost to suppress the slave-trade, General Morinho had already ordered one of the deputy-governors to be brought up to Mozambique, to be tried by court-martial for disobedience of orders, in permitting the trade under his own eyes; and, it has already been mentioned, that, from the information which was given by the Nemesis, of the slave-brig at Delagoa Bay, lying under the very guns of the fort, the governor of that settlement was also to be sent for.

That no attention might be omitted, after the great kindness his Excellency had shewn to all on board, he and his party were steamed some way up the river, to shew them the capabilities of the vessel; thousands of boats crowded round in all directions, while the house-tops, the fort, the beach, and all the ships in port, were covered with people anxious to see the greatest novelty the place had ever been witness to—the first steamer, moving with rapidity about their fine harbour, and in whatever direction she pleased.

Mozambique, situated on an island scarcely a mile and a half in length and completely formed of coral, was taken from the Arabs by the Portuguese, at the very commencement of the sixteenth century; and the extent of the fort of St. Sebastian, built there by them, and which, even now, might be rendered a very strong fortification, capable of mounting nearly a hundred guns, if in proper repair, is sufficient to shew the great importance which they attributed to it, even in that early period of its settlement. It still contains large barracks and extensive quarters and storehouses, but only a very small and feeble garrison, of scarcely more than a couple of hundred men, either black or creole sepoys. There are likewise two other smaller forts upon the island, which may therefore be considered strongly fortified, although more indebted to the past than to the present, for the importance, which, at first view, it appears to possess.

The public buildings of Mozambique all bespeak the value of the settlement to its possessors in the days of Portuguese maritime distinction. The governor's palace must have been, in its best days, a residence worthy of an influential ruler. It is of stone, of considerable extent, and contains some fine rooms; in fact, it speaks much for the importance attached by the Portuguese, in former times, to their eastern possessions. The large stone wharf, built on handsome arches, with the fine Custom-House, in a sort of square at the extremity of it, clearly point out the ancient commercial value of the settlement; diminished at last, perhaps, more by the paralysing effects of the slave-trade,

than by any natural decrease in the commercial capabilities of the east coast of Africa.

In short, the city has fallen into comparative insignificance; the number of resident Portuguese has become very inconsiderable, with the exception of some Canareens or creole Portuguese, born in other Portuguese possessions in India, and, though commonly called white, only so "by courtesy," being often quite as black as the true Indians. Bad government and moral deterioration have added not a little to the other causes of its downfall; and it will scarcely be credited, that a distinct law has been passed, that those who were married should be compelled to remain there, or, at least, not return to their own country. The effect of so extraordinary a measure, has been, that nobody is disposed to get married at all; and, so low a tone of moral feeling has come to prevail, that the sexes live together openly, without any matrimonial or moral ties, and with little feeling of shame at the absence of them.

As a place of call for refreshment, for ships passing through the Channel, Mozambique has some claims to attention. Abundance of vegetables and fruit are to be obtained there; pigs and goats are readily to be purchased, as well as poultry, and, were the demand for bullocks larger, they would soon be brought to market in numbers. At present, however, they are very dear.

But the great treasure of the place remains yet to be developed; at all events, the subject is well open to investigation. The existence of good coal in that neighbourhood is now, I believe, for the first time made public. There is reason to expect that it will be found in large quantity, and of good quality, although as yet the search for it has not been carried on to any great extent. The all-engrossing subject of the slave-trade seems to darken every other object of attention in that quarter, and the Portuguese are probably afraid that the discovery of coal in their settlements would occasion the continual visits of so many steamers and other vessels, that even greater difficulty would be thrown in the way of the traffic.

Just as the Nemesis was leaving the harbour, the captain of an English merchant ship, the only one there at the time, brought off a large piece of excellent coal for inspection. It had all the appearance of coal perfectly adapted for steaming purposes; it was stated to be found at Quillimane, about 300 miles to the southward of Mozambique, and that there is every reason to believe it might be procured in large quantities, and worked without difficulty. This specimen was sent by Captain Hall to the Cape of Good Hope from Mozambique, in a box, with directions that it should be forwarded to the India House, but did not reach its

destination, having probably been lost, or set aside at the Cape.

If further investigation should prove what is here stated to be correct, there can be no reason for not searching for coal upon other parts of the coast; and under any circumstances, as Quillimane is at so short a distance from Mozambique, the coal might easily be brought up to the latter at little expense; and, if it were to become a more frequented route to India, it would be desirable to moor a large coal-hulk off the town, in which a constant supply of coal could be kept ready, and which could be taken in rapidly, and at little expense, by a steamer running up alongside of her.

It was at one time thought that coal would be found in some one of the Comoro islands, at the northern extremity of the Mozambique Channel; and the Nemesis was directed, at all events, to touch there on her way, for the purpose of inquiring into its eligibility as a depôt, and place of refreshment for steamers. The distance of the nearest of the Comoro islands, Mohilla, from Mozambique, is scarcely 250 miles; and from thence to Johanna, which is the principal one, and the place of residence of the sultan or ruler of the islands, is about 30 miles. Johanna lies as near as possible in the middle of the channel between Madagascar and the mainland of Africa, just where it widens into the open sea.

The Nemesis took her departure from Mozambique on the evening of the 1st of September, but did not reach Johanna until the afternoon of the 4th, having made nearly the whole distance under sail only, against a very strong south-westerly current. The island of Mohilla is, of course, the first seen, and strikes you by its lofty, wooded summit, and the numerous small islets which surround it to the southward. The channel between Mohilla and Johanna is picturesque, and the high inland mountains every where present a rich and refreshing appearance, being covered with luxuriant wood, and broken occasionally into deep glens, marked by the usual tropical verdure. Johanna is the most frequented of all the islands, and affords the best anchorage. But it was quite dark before the Nemesis approached the bay, and an occasional blue light and a rocket were let off, to give notice of her approach, in order that a pilot might come off, or else a signal be made to direct her to the best anchorage. A large fire was soon lighted on shore for this purpose; and, no sooner did she come within a moderate distance, than numerous boats came alongside; the natives jumped on board, in apparent delight at seeing her come in, not unmixed with extreme surprise at her appearance, and the mode in which she moved through the water. Several of them spoke broken English, and, although they were

naturally delighted at the prospect of earning a little money, they were even more so at the sight of her armament, and at once concluded that she was sent purposely to assist the sultan and the people of the island, who were at that time in great danger and trouble.

Johanna is occasionally frequented by English ships, for provisions, which are there abundant and reasonable, and the people have become favourably known in England, in consequence of their kind treatment of numerous poor English seamen, who have from time to time been wrecked on those islands, or on the neighbouring coasts. The great bay, which is on the northern side of the island, is not, however, a very suitable anchorage, except, perhaps, during the S.W. monsoon. At all times, there is a very heavy surf rolling in shore; and, during the N.E. monsoon, which sets directly into it, the heavy swell renders the anchorage unsafe. It cannot, therefore, be considered at all eligible as a coal depôt for steamers, particularly when Mozambique, which has greater claims to attention, is within such a moderate distance. Still, it is a very useful place of refuge for our whaling ships in that part of the world; and, as the inhabitants, as well as the authorities, have always shewn great kindness to the English, and, in fact, consider themselves almost in the light of allies of England, it would seem politic to keep alive the good feeling they evince toward us.

The inhabitants of these islands are principally of Moorish origin, nearly all Mohammedans, and they wear the turban and loose dress, which belong to no part of the neighbouring coast; a dagger or pistols in their girdle are by no means uncommon. They have a genuine old English or Arab mode of shaking hands, with a gaiety of manner that is very pleasing. Their features are regular and well formed, and their complexion, though dark, is very different from that of the inhabitants, either of the neighbouring continent, or of the island of Madagascar. In short, it is evident that they were originally emigrants from some distant part, probably Arab traders, although their appearance has become modified in the course of successive generations.

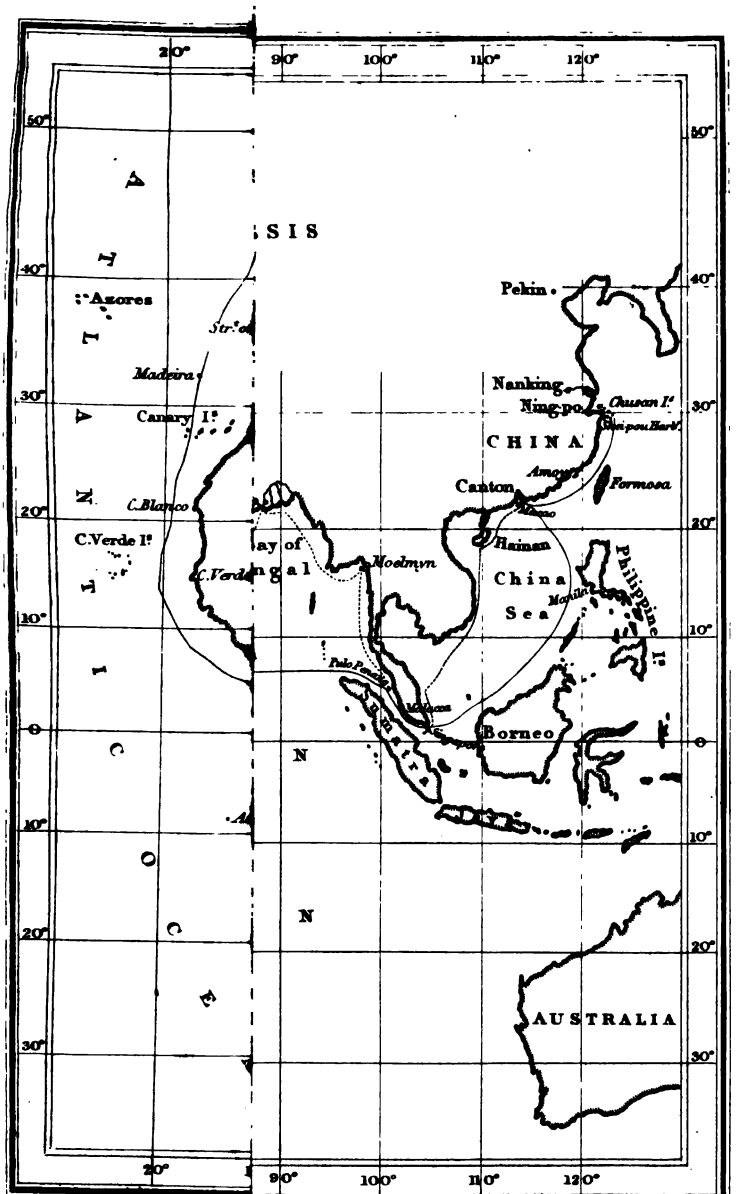
These islanders appear to be rather favourites of the different men-of-war and merchant ships which touch there; though they have acquired a character for duplicity and cunning, and, consequently, for telling falsehoods, which at the same time they smooth over with the most artful flattery. But high testimony has been often borne to their kindness and hospitality towards Englishmen in distress; and, when the Exmouth grounded there several years ago, with a great number of passengers, on her way home, the Sultan Abdallah, the father of his present high-

ness, particularly distinguished himself, by even attending in person to direct the efforts of his men, who came to assist in getting the vessel off. He paid the utmost attention to all the passengers, particularly to the women and children, taking care that they should be provided with every thing he could furnish for their comfort, until they could pursue their voyage further. Nor is this by any means a solitary instance of the kind services which they have rendered to our countrymen. The name of the present ruler of the Comoro islands is Alloué. He is not less distinguished than his father had been for his attachment to the English, and for the fidelity with which he adhered to his engagements with them for the suppression of the slave trade.

CHAPTER VIII.

During the life time of Sultan Abdallah, Raymanytek, a chief of Madagascar had fled, to escape, as he alleged, the cruelty of the queen of that island, to Johanna, with a large party of retainers, and been generously received there. Having money at his command, this man engaged in the slave-trade, and when the Sultan, faithful to his promises to the English to use his efforts for the suppression of that traffic, ordered him to quit the island, he armed his people, made an unexpected attack upon the principal town, burned the greater part of it, destroyed the crops and plantations in the neighbourhood, and withdrew to the island of Mohilla, where he established himself in a position easy of defence, and all the exertions of the rightful authorities to dislodge him proved ineffectual. During the disturbances which ensued, Abdallah was deposed, and, falling into the hands of Raymanytek, he was put to death with circumstances of extreme barbarity.

It was only four months before the arrival of the Nemesis that Sultan Alloué, the son and successor of Abdallah, had addressed a letter to the governor of the Mauritius, representing the miserable state of his island in consequence of the ravages of Raymanytek; "the town burnt, the country ravaged, all the cattle killed by that chief, aided by natives of Mohilla under his orders." He distinctly intimated that the rebel chief was receiving assistance from the French. However that may be, it is our evident interest to prevent those fine islands from falling into any other hands, more especially now that the intercourse between the West and East, through the Mozambique channel, is likely to be more extensive than formerly; and that the opening for legitimate commerce,



Isaac Purdy Sculp.

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within the channel itself, cannot but attract the attention of British merchants. The trade in slaves will become yearly more difficult, and, indeed, nothing would tend more to cause its total downfall than the gradual extension, under proper government protection, of the legitimate trade in British manufactures along that coast.

The young Sultan Alloué further declared in his letter that numbers of his people had been captured and taken to Mozambique and Zansibar, where they *were sold into slavery*; and that several such cargoes had already been sent over. He begged earnestly that assistance might speedily be sent to him, in arms and ammunition, and that he particularly stood in need of lead and flints, and a couple of small field-pieces. At the same time, he entreated that some small vessel of war might be sent to his aid; for that such were his difficulties, that, unless speedy assistance should arrive, he feared that he should be driven to abandon the town, and seek personally an asylum in British India. He then appealed to the magnanimity of the British government, in the hope that he and his people might not be compelled to abandon their homes for want of timely assistance.

Such was the unhappy situation of the beautiful little island of Johanna, as described by its own prince, only a few months before the unexpected visit of the Nemesis. Little change had taken place; the town still held out, but it does not appear that any assistance had been sent to it. The very sight of the steamer gladdened the young sultan's heart, and encouraged the people, who stood greatly in need of it; the rebel chief being then at only a short distance from the town.

Late as it was, the Captain and Lieut. Pedder landed in uniform to wait upon the sultan at once, as their time was so limited. One of his uncles and his prime minister received them, and accompanied them through a few narrow streets, built in the Moorish style, to the sultan's palace. At the entrance were stationed four half-clad soldiers, with muskets, as a personal guard; and, on reaching the reception-room, the sultan was discovered sitting on a high-backed chair, at the further end of the apartment. He immediately rose and advanced towards them in a very friendly manner, welcoming them to Johanna with a good, hearty shake by the hand. Two chairs were placed on his left, for his guests, while, on his right, sat the governor of the town, and several other of the principal people, all on the tip-toe of expectation for the news from England, the more particularly as they were in some hope that the strange-looking "*devil-ship*," as they called her, might have brought a letter from the English government, in answer to his application for assistance.

They were doomed, however, to be again disappointed; but the sultan made many inquiries about the Queen and Prince Albert, and whether an heir to the throne had yet been born, and seemed not a little curious to know if the Thames Tunnel was finished. In short, he appeared to be a very well-bred and courteous young man. He alluded painfully to the distressed state of the island, and to his being surrounded by his enemies under Raymanytek, and begged hard for at least a little powder and shot, with which to endeavour to hold out until better assistance could reach him.

As it was already quite late, the interview did not last long, but promises were made to renew it on the subsequent day, and a party was arranged for an excursion outside the town on the following morning. Accordingly, at daylight, the party were again met on the beach by the king's uncle, who appointed three soldiers to act both as guides and guards. These men appeared quite pleased with the duty assigned to them, and throughout the whole trip did everything in their power to amuse the party, and to point out to them the objects best worth notice; one man went in search of shells upon the beach, another to procure fruit, and scarcely a wish was expressed that was not immediately gratified.

Having ascended the hills on the eastern side of the valley, they were gratified by a delightful prospect in every direction. The valley below was rich and capable of high cultivation, but only partially cleared of wood, and in other parts covered with long grass and low shrubs, varied by the numerous wild flowers which were then in blossom. In the rear were high and thickly-wooded mountains, picturesque in themselves, but shutting out the view of the opposite side of the island, while, in the other direction, the eye could trace the long line of picturesque coast, giving altogether a very favourable impression of the character of the island, the more particularly as some of the timber is very fine, and calculated for repairing ships.

The town itself could be viewed only from the top of a higher hill behind it, which was now ascended, and its character well made out. Its little white flat-topped houses and turreted walls, with very narrow streets, pointed out its Moorish origin. But there was nothing to render it otherwise striking. The whole population appeared to be abroad, each struggling which should gratify his curiosity the quickest, in running down to the beach to catch a glimpse of the strange vessel, the like of which none had ever seen before. Boats were seen crowding round her on all sides, and, as she lay there, decked out with all her flags, the scene was both animated and picturesque.

On descending the hill, the party were again met by the sultan's uncle, who invited them to breakfast with his highness, and accompanied them, first to his own house, where they met the sultan himself, and thence to the palace, which was close at hand. But it was still rather an early hour for a reception, and, on entering the palace, it was very evident that the preparations had not yet been completed for their arrival. His highness's ladies, the sultana and her companions, had only just time to make their escape, leaving everything in disorder, and, in short, breakfast was not quite ready.

His highness was very condescending, but it was clear that his attentions were divided between two or more objects at the same time, one of which was readily guessed to be the ladies fair, who had so suddenly decamped. But this was not the only one, and, in the little intervals between his exits and his entrances, an opportunity was taken to ask his uncle, who was present, what it was all about. The mystery was solved. His highness was condescending to superintend the preparation of the breakfast for his guests, that it might be worthy of them. The kitchen was on this occasion converted into the council-chamber.

The breakfast was pronounced capital, and ample justice done, after the morning's walk, to the wisdom of his highness's deliberations. He himself seemed quite delighted, and his uncle declared to Captain Hall, in his absence, that the young man's greatest pleasure was to contrive some new means of gratifying the English who came in his way, and that there was nothing he would not condescend to do for them, in his enthusiastic admiration of the nation. A little of this might be said and done for effect, but there has always been good reason to believe that he was on all occasions a sincere, and, in some respects, useful ally.

The same day, a grand entertainment was to be given by some relation of the sultan's, in his uncle's house, in honour of the performance of the first Mohammedan rite upon the young infant, his son and heir, upon the eighth day after its birth. The sultan himself, with his chief minister, accompanied them to see the festivities. On this occasion, the ladies of the court were all in the apartment adjoining the reception room, and only separated from it by a large screen or curtain before the door. Now, according to all the prescribed rules of civilized life, it may reasonably be supposed that the fair damsels, secluded as they usually were, had just as much curiosity to see the lions of the day, the English officers in uniform, as the latter had to catch a glimpse of eastern beauty, the more sought the more forbidden. Every now and then you could see the curtain moved gently on one side, and a young lady's head peep out; and then another

would steal a quiet look on the other side; then again, by pressing against each other, more of them would be seen than they intended, but quite enough to make you wish to see more still. In the mean time his highness had retired, or perhaps they might not have been so bold.

As the gallantry of the sons of Neptune has at all times been famous, so in this instance it innocently got the better of their discretion, and, with an apparently accidental, though well-premeditated charge at the curtain, which was most gallantly pushed on one side, a full view of all the fair ladies was obtained, much more to the apparent horror of the old uncle, who was a spectator of the achievement, than to that of the fair damsels themselves, who, nevertheless, quietly retreated in some trepidation. The ladies were all very handsomely and gaudily dressed, it being a gala-day, but they were not altogether the most Venus-like of beauties. But a more curious scene was brought to view on being conducted to another apartment, where a large and merry party of ladies of less distinguished rank were amusing themselves with dancing and singing, but certainly without much grace in the one or melody in the other. There was only one good-looking female among the whole assembly, and she appeared to be the queen of beauty, or mistress of the feast, for she was treated with the utmost attention and deference by all the rest.

On returning to the presence of the sultan, refreshments were handed round, and as the weather was hot, a whole train of the female servants of the house were ushered into the room, each with a fan, or sort of portable punka, in her hand. They were all very neatly and cleanly dressed, and immediately set their fans most dexterously to work, taking their stations behind each person of the party. In the midst of this scene the sultan disappeared, followed by his uncle, and, after a few minutes' consultation, the attendance of Captain Hall was requested in his highness's private apartment. Something important was evidently about to happen, but, before there was much time to conjecture what it might be, he found himself alone with the sultan. His highness frankly confessed the alarm which the strength of the chief named Raymanytek had excited in his mind, that he was even then not far from the town, and that he himself was determined at once to march out against the rebels, if he could get a sufficient supply of powder and shot. At the same time he begged that, if necessary, he might have the assistance of the steamer to protect his town.

Only one reply could be given, namely, that the visit of the steamer was a mere casual thing, with a view to ascertain the nature of the harbour; that the service she was engaged on

would admit of no delay, but that, as long as she was there, which could not be many hours more, she should give protection to himself and his family, as well as to the town, if in danger, and that a small supply of ammunition should be given to him to enable him to defend himself. He appeared quite satisfied, and pleased with the reply. At the same time, as the danger was imminent, and much blood might otherwise be shed, he requested that, since the orders by which the steamer was obliged to abide would necessitate her immediate departure, the British flag might be hoisted upon his citadel before she started, and receive the proper salute, in order to intimidate the rebel chief; and further, that a letter might be written to the latter, stating that the sultan of Johanna was an old ally of Great Britain, and that the taking up arms against him could no longer be permitted; in short, that he had, therefore, better take himself off as quickly as possible, and return to obedience.

This was a request which demanded very serious consideration. It was evident that Captain Hall had no authority whatever to interfere in the matter; and such, consequently would have been the only reply of many officers, perhaps most, under the same circumstances. But, there was now something of humanity called into play, something of pity, and something, perhaps, of pride. It was impossible not to feel a deep interest in the unhappy position of the young sultan, more particularly as he and all his family had on so many occasions behaved with kindness and humanity towards Englishmen in distress. He had, moreover, stated his positive wish to become not only the ally, but even the subject of Great Britain, and that he would rather give up the island altogether to the English, and, if necessary, retire from it elsewhere, than see it in its then state of misery from the incursions of Raymanytek. There was, in fact, something in Alloué's appeal, which was altogether irresistible; and, after much reflection, and well knowing the responsibility incurred, it was agreed that the British flag should be hoisted upon the citadel, under a salute of twenty-one guns. This was accordingly done, and for the first time, the flag, which so many millions look upon with pride, waved over the citidel and walls of Johanna. The sultan smiled, and appeared to take far greater pride in that unstained ensign than in his own independent flag and precarious authority.

Great were the rejoicings of the whole population of the town; in fact, the day had been one of continued excitement to all parties. To crown the whole, a letter was written to the rebel chief, according to the tenour of what has been stated above, and which, it was hoped, would induce Raymanytek to retire peaceably for the present, and to defer to an opportunity less favourable for

himself, if not altogether to forego, his treasonable designs, which had evidently been to depose the sultan, and probably put him to death, and banish all his family, assuming the whole authority himself in his place.

This had been a long and eventful day for the Nemesis, and while what we have been relating was passing on shore, those on board had been busy taking in water and wood for the immediate continuance of the voyage. One thing, however, yet remained; the sultan was to visit the ship, and see what to him were wonders. He came on board in the afternoon, with several attendants in full Moorish dress, and expressed the utmost astonishment at the arrangement of the ship, the machinery, &c. To him and his followers all was new. As they steamed round the bay, their wonderment increased more and more at the ease and rapidity with which she moved; and, having partaken of a little fruit and bread, and taken a most friendly and, to all appearance, grateful leave of Capt. Hall, and all on board, he was landed in the ship's boat, with his own flag flying upon it. On landing, he seemed quite overwhelmed with thankfulness for the timely assistance rendered to him, and unaffectedly sorry at parting with friends he had so recently made.

On the afternoon of the 5th September, 1840, the interesting little island of Johanna was left behind with many good wishes for the success of the sultan's arms, and for the speedy restoration of peace and plenty to his harassed subjects.*

* The following letter concerning the fate of the Comoro Islands, and the violent proceedings of the French in that quarter, appeared in *The Times* of January 30th, 1844. The facts stated in it have every appearance of exaggeration, but the interference of the British Government would seem to be called for.

"The French have, within the last month, obtained, by fraud, possession of the islands of Johanna, Mohillo, and Comoro; they have already, by the same means, obtained the islands of Mayotte and Nos Beh. There are at present out here 11 ships of war—the largest a 60-gun frigate; more are expected out, in preparation for the conquest of all Madagascar; and also, it is said, of the Coast of Africa, from latitude 10 S. to 2 S.; this portion includes the dominions of the Imaum of Muscat. At this place (Nos Beh) a system of slavery is carried on that you are not aware of. Persons residing here, send over to places on the mainland of Africa, as Mozambique, Angoza, &c., money for the purchase of the slaves; they are bought there for about 10 dollars each, and are sold here again for fifteen dollars; here again they are re-sold to French merchant vessels from Bourbon and St. Mary's, for about 25 to 30 dollars each. Captains of vessels purchasing these, use the precaution of making two or three of the youngest free, and then have them apprenticed to them for a certain term of years, (those on shore,) 14 and 21 years. These papers of freedom will answer for many. It is a known fact, that numbers have been taken to Bourbon and sold for 200 and 300 dollars each. Those who have had their freedom

CHAPTER IX.

The next place towards which the Nemesis was destined to shape her course was the island of Ceylon, where at length was to be made known to her the ultimate service upon which she was to be employed. It was not until the 10th that she lost sight of Comoro Island, the northernmost of the group of that name, and if measured in a direct line, considerably less than 100 miles from Johanna.

Horsburgh particularly notices the light, baffling winds and the strong south-west and southerly currents, which prevail during the months of October and November among the Comoro Islands. But it was found upon this voyage that these difficulties presented themselves sometimes much earlier than stated by him. It was now only the beginning of September, and the southerly current was found setting down at the rate of even 60 miles a day. Indeed both the winds and currents in the Mozambique Channel had been found very different from what had been expected. It was the season of the south-west monsoon, when the

granted at this place, (Nos Beh,) as well as others, are chiefly of the Macaw tribe. The Indien of Havre, a French bark, took several from this place on the 26th of September last; she was bound for the west coast of Madagascar, St. Mary's, and Bourbon. L'Hesione, [a 32-gun frigate, had just arrived from Johanna, having compelled one of the chiefs to sign a paper, giving the island up to the French. On their first application, the king and chiefs of Johanna said, that the island belonged to the English. The French then said, that if it was not given up, they would destroy the place; they, after this, obtained the signature of one of the chiefs to a paper, giving up the island to the French.

"I remain, Sir, &c. &c.,

"Henry C. Arc Angelo,

"Supercargo of the late Ghuznee of Bombay.

"*Nos Beh, Madagascar,*
"*Oct. 6th,* 1843."

The account given in the above letter is partly borne out by the following announcement which appeared in the *Moniteur*, the French official newspaper, in March, 1844, the substance of it is here copied from *The Times* of the 14th March, and there can be little doubt concerning the obect of the French in taking the active step alluded to. We must hope, therefore, that our interests in that quarter will be properly watched, particularly when we remember what serious injury would be inflicted upon the whole of our Eastern trade, in case of war, by the establishment of the French in good harbours to the eastward of the Cape. The announcement is as follows:—"Captain des Fossés has been appointed Commander of the station at Madagascar, and Bourbon, which was hitherto placed under the orders of the Governor of Bourbon. This station now acquires a greater degree of importance. Captain des Fossés having under his orders 5 or 6 ships of war, will exhibit our flag along *the whole Coast of Africa*, and in the Arabian Seas. He will endeavour to extend our *relations with Abyssinia*, and our *influence in Madagascar*.

Nemesis entered it in the month of August, and as it is usually stated that this wind continues to blow until early in November, she ought to have had favourable winds to carry her quite through even later in the season. On the contrary, she met with a strong head-wind, and a much stronger southerly current than she had reason to expect.

The opinion of Horsburgh seems to be fully confirmed, that late in the season it is better for ships to avoid the Mozambique Channel, and rather proceed to the eastward of Madagascar, and then pass between Diego Garcia, and the Seychelle Islands. Steamers, however, would have less need of this precaution, were coal to be had at Mozambique. From the equator, the current was always easterly; but nothing particular occurred worth noticing, except that as the ship approached the Maldive Islands, she encountered very heavy squalls accompanied with rain. On the following day, the 1st October, the Maldives were in sight; and, in order to carry her through them rapidly, steam was got up for a few hours, until she came to, in the afternoon, within a quarter of a mile of the shore, under one of the easternmost of the islands, named Feawar, having shaped her course straight across the middle of the long, and until lately, much dreaded group of the Maldive Archipelago.

This archipelago is divided into numerous groups of islands, called by the natives Atolls, each comprising a considerable number of islands, some of which are inhabited and abound in cocoa-nut trees, while the smaller ones are often mere barren rocks or sandy islets. The total number, large and small, amounts to several hundred; and the groups, or Atolls, into which they are divided are numerous. They are laid down with wonderful accuracy and minuteness in the beautiful surveys of Capt. Moresby and Com. Powell of the Indian navy, so that with the aid of their charts, the intricate channels between them can be read with almost the same facility as the type of a book. Thus one of the greatest boons has been conferred upon navigators of all nations. They are disposed in nearly a meridian line from latitude 7° 6′ N. to latitude 0°47′ S., and consequently extend over the hottest portion of the tropics, for the distance of more than 370 miles.

As the Nemesis passed through these islands, she found that all the former difficulties had now vanished. So accurate were the soundings, and given on so large a scale, that it was more like reading a European road-book than guiding a vessel through an intricate labyrinth of islands. The very sight of a steamer completely frightened the inhabitants of the little island of Feawar, who, although they at length came alongside without much fear, could never be pursuaded to venture on board the vessel. How-

ever, they had no objection to act as guides, for the purpose of shewing what was to be seen upon their island; and, while a little necessary work was done to the vessel, Capt. Hall, and two or three of the officers landed, and were soon surrounded by a crowd of natives upon the beach, quite unarmed.

A stroll along the shore, covered with pieces of coral, soon brought them to a mosque and burial-ground, which was remarkable for the neatness with which it was disposed. The little ornamented head-stones with inscriptions, and flowers in many places planted round them, probably refreshed by the sacred water of a well close at hand, proved, at all events, the great respect paid to their dead, which is common among all Mohammedans. Indeed, the inhabitants of all these numerous islands are mostly of this persuasion, and consider themselves to be under the protection of England, the common wish of almost all the little independent tribes of the East.

The village itself appeared to be at least half deserted, the poor people, particularly the women, having hastily run away, leaving their spinning-wheels at their doors. They appear to carry their produce, consisting of oil, fish, rope, mats, &c., to Ceylon and other parts of India, in large boats of their own construction, bringing back in return rice and English manufactured goods. Indeed, an extensive traffic is carried on between all the northern most of this extensive chain of islands, or sub-marine mountains, and the nearer parts of the coast of India.

On the same evening, the Nemesis continued her voyage, and, on the afternoon of the 5th October, reached the harbour of Pointe de Galle, in Ceylon. She came in under steam, with about 8 tons of coals remaining, having been exactly one month from Johanna.

The mystery attending the Nemesis was now to end. Scarcely had she fairly reached her moorings, when a despatch was delivered to the captain from the government of India, containing orders from the Governor-general in council to complete the necessary repairs, and take in coal and provisions with all possible expedition, and then to proceed to join the fleet off the mouth of the Canton River, placing himself under the orders of the naval commander-in-chief. Great was now the rejoicing of both officers and men. Her captain had already been made acquainted with his destination as far as Ceylon, before leaving England, but no one on board, until now, had any certain information as to what particular service they were to undertake afterwards. The road to distinction was now made known to them; they were at once to be engaged in active operations, in conjunction with her majesty's forces.

Notwithstanding the unremitted exertions of all on board, the Nemesis could not be got ready to proceed on her voyage in less than 8 clear days from the time of her arrival at Pointe de Galle. Added to this, the whole of the stores and supplies had to be sent by land from Columbo, a distance of 72 miles, as it was not then so well known that all these things could be readily obtained at Singapore, and that therefore a smaller quantity would have sufficed. Indeed, from the more frequent communication with Ceylon, which has since taken place, though vessels touch at Pointe de Galle for supplies, every provision has now been made at that port, without the necessity of sending for stores to so great a distance as Columbo.

Under all circumstances, no time was to be lost; and the anxiety to proceed on the voyage as quickly as possible was so great, that Capt. Hall determined to start for Columbo the same evening, in order to wait upon his Excellency the Governor, and expedite the sending of the requisite stores. A highly respectable merchant, Mr. Gibb, who was going over, kindly offered him a seat in his gig, and, after considerable exertion and fatigue, they arrived at Columbo late on the following evening. The country presented itself in all the rich tropical aspect of these regions. The whole road to Columbo pointed out a fertile and luxuriant country, and was in itself admirably adapted for travelling.

Governor Mackenzie seemed to take much interest in the steamer, and in her probable capabilities for the peculiar service likely to be required of her in China; he had evidently made the subject his study, and upon this, as upon other questions, evinced great intelligence.

Little need here be said about the Island of Ceylon, which has been recently so well described and treated of by able and well-informed writers. The fine fortifications of Columbo, (the capital of the island,) the governor's palace, the barracks, and public offices, are all worth seeing; indeed it is to be regretted that arrangements have not yet been made, by which the steamers from Calcutta to the Red Sea, touching at Pointe de Galle, might allow some of their passengers, instead of wasting the valuable time necessary for taking in fuel at Pointe de Galle, to cross over to Columbo. The steamers might then, with a very trifling additional expense, touch at Columbo to pick them up, together with other passengers likely to be found there, now that the overland route is daily becoming more frequented.

The most curious sight at Columbo is the little fleet of fishing-boats, in the shape of long, narrow canoes, each made out of the trunk of a single tree, with upper works rigged on to them, falling in in such a way, that there is just sufficient room for a man's

body to turn round. They start off with the land-wind in the morning, and run out a long distance to fish, returning with the sea-breeze in the afternoon. Both ends are made exactly alike, so that, instead of going about, they have only to shift the large lug-sail, the mast being in the middle, and it is quite indifferent which end of the boat goes foremost. To counteract the natural tendency of so narrow a body to upset, two slight, long spars are run out at the side, connected at the outer ends by a long and stout piece of wood, tapering at either extremity, not unlike a narrow canoe; this acts as a lever to keep the boat upright, and is generally rigged out upon the windward side. If the breeze freshens, it is easy to send a man or two out upon it, as an additional counterpoise by their weight, and there they sit without any apparent apprehension.

The healthiness of Ceylon is within the last few years greatly improved, principally owing to the extensive clearing of land which has taken place. The plantations of coffee having been found at one time, as indeed they are still, to yield a very large profit, induced a great number of persons to enter into the speculation. Land was readily purchased from government as quickly as it could be obtained, at the rate of 5 shillings an acre; and the result has been a considerable increase in the exports of the island, as well as an amelioration of its condition.

Coals, provisions, and stores of all kinds, were sent on board the Nemesis with the utmost expedition, and, on the afternoon of the 14th October, she was once more ready for sea. The public interest in the events gradually arising from the negotiations then on foot with the Chinese had gradually been raised to a high pitch, and a passage to China, to join the force as a volunteer, was readily provided for the governor's son, Lieutenant Mackenzie. Crowds of people gathered upon the shore in all directions to witness the departure of the vessel, and the discharge of a few signal-rockets as soon as it was dark, added a little additional novelty to the event.

Ten days sufficed to carry the Nemesis to the island of Penang, or Prince of Wales's island. Her passage had been longer than might have been expected, owing in a great measure to the badness of the coal, which caked and clogged up the furnaces in such a way, that, instead of requiring to be cleaned out only once in about twenty-four hours, as would have been the case with good coal, it was necessary to perform this process no less than four times within the same period; added to which, the enormous quantity of barnacles adhering to the ship's bottom, greatly retarded her progress.

The island of Penang, upon the coast of the peninsula of

Malacca, from which it is separated by a channel scarcely more than two miles broad, would seem to be a place particularly adapted for steamers to touch at. Indeed, it has become a question of late whether it should not be provided with a sort of government dockyard, for the repair of the increased number of ships of war and transports, both belonging to the service of government and the East India Company, which will necessarily have to pass through the straits of Malacca, now that our intercourse with China is so rapidly increasing. The harbour is perfectly safe, the water at all times smooth; coals can easily be stored there, and good wood can be obtained on the spot; moreover, it lies directly in the track of ships, or very little out of it, as they generally prefer passing on the Malacca side of the straits, particularly during the south-west monsoon. The heavy squalls which prevail on the opposite coast are so severe, that they have at length taken its very name, and are called Sumatras. They are accompanied with terrific lightning, which often does great mischief, and they are justly looked upon with great dread.

Penang is very properly considered one of the loveliest spots in the eastern world, considering its limited extent; and, from the abundance and excellence of its spice productions, which come to greater perfection in the straits than in any other part in which they have been tried, (except, perhaps, in the island of Java,) this little island has proved to be an extremely valuable possession. It abounds in picturesque scenery, heightened by the lovely views of the opposite coast of Malacca, called Province Wellesley, which also belongs to the East India Company. The numerous and excellent roads, the hospitality of the inhabitants, and the richness of the plain, or belt, which lies between the high, wooded mountains in the rear, and the town and harbour are, perhaps, unequalled. This plain, together with the sides of some of the adjoining mountains, is covered with luxuriant plantations of nutmegs, cocoa-nut-trees, and spice-trees of all kinds; and altogether Penang is one of the most attractive, as it is also one of the healthiest spots in the East. It has by some been even called the "Gem of the Eastern seas." There is a fort of considerable strength, not far from the fine covered jetty, or landing-place; and, with very moderate trouble and expense, there is little doubt that Penang could be made a valuable naval depôt.

The short passage down the straits of Malacca, towards Singapore, was easily performed in three days. But here again some detention was inevitable. The north-east monsoon had already fairly set in, and, as vessels proceeding up the China sea at this season would have the wind directly against them, it was neces-

sary that the steamer should take in the greatest quantity of fuel she could carry, before she could venture to leave Singapore. On this occasion, every spare corner that could be found was filled with coal, and even the decks were almost covered with coal-bags. By this means, she was enabled to carry enough fuel for full fifteen days' consumption, or about one hundred and seventy-five tons.

The small island of Singapore, being situated just off the southern extremity of the peninsula of Malacca, from which it is separated only by a very narrow strait, must necessarily lie almost directly in the track of all vessels passing up or down the straits of Malacca, either to or from China, or any of the intermediate places. Being easy of access to all the numerous half-civilized tribes and nations which inhabit the islands of those seas, and within the influence of the periodical winds or monsoons, which, at certain seasons, embolden even the Chinese, Siamese, and other nations to venture upon the distant voyage, it is not surprising that in the space of a few years it should have risen to a very high degree of importance as a commercial emporium.

The wisdom of the policy of Sir Stamford Raffles, in establishing a free port in such an advantageous position, has been proved beyond all previous anticipation. The perfect freedom of commercial intercourse, without any restriction or charges of any kind, has given birth to a yearly increasing commercial spirit among all the surrounding nations. It is impossible to see the immense number of curious junks and trading-vessels which arrive from all parts during the proper season, without admiring the enterprising commercial spirit of all those different tribes, and acknowledging the immense value to England of similar distant outports, for the security and extension of her commerce.

The intercourse with Singapore has been rapidly increasing every year, but especially since the commencement of the war in China. Of course, all our ships of war and transports touch at so convenient a place, where supplies of all kinds can easily be obtained, and where every attention and kindness are shewn to strangers, both by the authorities and by the resident merchants. Much credit is due to the late governor, Mr. Bonham, for the intelligence and activity which he exhibited in everything that could in any way forward the objects of the expedition, and for the readiness with which he endeavoured to meet all the wishes of those who were concerned in it. His hospitality and personal attention were acknowledged by all.

In some respects, Singapore forms a good introduction to a first visit to China. It has a very large Chinese population, (not less than 20,000,) to which yearly additions are made, on the arrival

of the large trading junks, in which they come down voluntarily to seek employment. Hundreds of them arrive in the greatest destitution, without even the means of paying the boat hire to enable them to reach the shore. They are the principal mechanics and labourers of the town, and also act as household servants, while many of them are employed in the cultivation of spices and of sugar, or in clearing land. There is no kind of labour or employment which a Chinaman will not readily undertake; and they appear to succeed equally well in all, with the exception of tending sheep or cattle, which is an occupation they are little fond of.

The town has something of a Chinese aspect, from the number of Chinamen who are employed in every capacity; and the fruits and vegetables are principally cultivated and brought to market by people of that nation. In Java, Penang, and elsewhere, they are also to be met with in great numbers; which is quite sufficient to prove (were proof wanting) how much they are naturally disposed to become a colonizing people. There is hardly any part of the world to which a Chinaman would refuse to go, if led and managed by some of his own countrymen. But, wherever they go they carry the vice of *opium-smoking* with them, and it is needless to say, that it thrives at Singapore to its fullest extent, and that a large revenue is annually derived from the monopoly of the sale of the drug.

The climate of Singapore is healthy, although the soil is wet, owing to the constant rains; and the heat is, perhaps, never excessive, although the place is situated only about seventy miles from the equator.

On the 4th of November, the Nemesis resumed her voyage, and passed the little rocky island of Pedra Branca early on the following morning. This dangerous, and sometimes half-covered rock lies nearly in the direct track for vessels proceeding up the China Sea; and on its southern side are two dangerous ledges or reefs, running out from it to the distance of more than a mile, which, at high water, can scarcely be traced above the surface. On the opposite, or northern side, there is deep water in not less than sixteen or seventeen fathoms, close in to the rock; and, moreover, the tides in its neighbourhood are very irregular, not only in point of time, but also in direction and velocity. Nor are these the only dangers to be met with in this locality. Hence it will readily appear that a lighthouse placed upon Pedra Branca would be of essential utility to all navigators who have occasion to pass up or down the China Sea. A ship leaving Singapore for Hong-Kong, for instance, might then start at such an hour in the evening as would enable her to make the light on Pedra

Branca before morning; by which means, her true position being ascertained, she might stand on without fear of any danger. The expense of erecting the lighthouse would not be great, as the elevation would only be moderate, and the expense of maintaining it might be defrayed by levying a small light-duty at Singapore upon all vessels passing up or down the China Sea.

The Nemesis, having passed this rocky little island, at once found the north-east monsoon blowing strongly and steadily against her, so that "full steam" was necessary to enable her to proceed. On the afternoon of the 16th, the high land of the Spanish island of Luconia (better known by the name of the capital town, Manilla) came in sight; and, on the following morning, the Nemesis passed very near the port, but without venturing to enter, on account of the delay which it would cause, although fuel was already much wanted. The appearance of the island was very striking. Bold, picturesque mountains, fine woods, with here and there a few sugar plantations extending along valleys, and rich, green, cocoa-nut groves, to vary the prospect—all these combined, or alternating with each other, made the aspect of the island very attractive.

On the 24th, the Lieu-chew Islands came in sight; but these are not the same islands which were visited by Capt. Basil Hall, whose descriptions excited so much attention.

At daylight on the following morning, the Nemesis steamed through the Typa anchorage, which lies opposite to Macao, and ran close in to the town, where the water is so shallow that none but trading-boats can venture so far. The sudden appearance of so large and mysterious-looking a vessel, naturally excited the greatest astonishment among all classes, both of the Portuguese and Chinese residents. The saluting of the Portuguese flag, as she passed, sufficed to announce that something unusual had happened; and crowds of people came down to the Praya Grande, or Esplanade, to look at the first iron steamer which had ever anchored in their quiet little bay. Her very light draught of water seemed to them quite incompatible with her size; and even the Portuguese governor was so much taken by surprise, that he sent off a messenger expressly to the vessel, to warn her captain of the supposed danger which he ran by venturing so close in shore. It is probable, however, that his excellency was not quite satisfied with the near approach of an armed steamer, within a short range of his own palace; and, moreover, the firing of a salute, almost close under his windows, had speedily frightened away the fair ladies who had been observed crowding at all the windows with eager curiosity.

As soon as the first excitement had passed, Captain Hall waited

upon the governor, to assure him that he had come with the most peaceable intentions, and to thank his excellency for the friendly warning he had given, with respect to the safety of the vessel. At the same time, he assured his excellency, that he was already thoroughly acquainted with the harbour and anchorage of Macao, from early recollection of all those localities, as he had served as midshipman on board the Lyra, under Captain Basil Hall, during Lord Amherst's embassy to China, in 1816.

It was now ascertained that the English admiral, the Hon. George Elliot, was at anchor with his fleet in Tongkoo roads, below the Bogue forts; and, accordingly, the Nemesis proceeded to join the squadron, after the delay of only a few hours. Her arrival was announced by the salute to the admiral's flag, which was immediately returned by the Melville, precisely as if the Nemesis had been a regular man-of-war.

The Nemesis now found herself in company with the three line-of-battle ships, Wellesley, Melville, and Blenheim, together with H.M.S. Druid, Herald, Modeste, Hyacinth, and the Jupiter troop-ship. Thus, then, after all her toil and hardships, the gallant Nemesis had at length reached the proud post towards which she had so long been struggling. Her voyage from England had, indeed, been a long one, and her trials had been many. She had started in the worst season of the year, and had encountered, throughout nearly the whole voyage, unusual weather and unforeseen difficulties. She had happily survived them all, and the efforts which had been already made to enable her to earn for herself a name, gave happy promise of her future destiny.

The excitement on board was general, now that she at length found her *iron* frame swinging, side by side, with the famed "wooden walls" of England's glory; and the prospect of immediate service, in active operations against the enemy, stimulated the exertions of every individual. For some days, however, she was compelled to content herself with the unwelcome operation of "coaling" in Tongkoo Bay. In the mean time, the ships of war had sailed, leaving her to follow them as soon as she could be got ready.

CHAPTER X.

The Canton river, or, as the Chinese call it, Chookeang, is, in point of size, depth, and picturesque character, one of the finest navigable rivers in the world. Merchant ships of the largest size

have navigated it for nearly two hundred years, to within a distance of nine or ten miles from Canton, with little difficulty and very inconsiderable danger. No foreign commerce with any one port has been so valuable, so extensive, or carried on with so much facility. An archipelago of numerous islands, most of them rocky, and only partially productive, warns you of the approach to this celebrated river. Strictly speaking, only that portion of it above the Bocca Tigris has been called the river; while all below that point, even from beyond Macao upwards, (the latter lying at the distance of from forty to fifty miles from the Bogue forts,) has been called the outer waters; nevertheless, it ought properly to be included in the denomination of the river itself.

Since the questions connected with the opium-trade have been brought so prominently forward, it has been maintained by some, that the "outer waters" ought *not* properly to be considered within Chinese jurisdiction. But this position would hardly seem to be tenable; and there can be no sound reason for maintaining that these waters should not be considered as much, and *even more*, within their jurisdiction as the sea-coast or river islands of any part of Europe are within the jurisdiction of the country to which they belong, to the distance of a certain number of miles from the land itself. In reality, the little peninsula of Macao on the west, and the island of Lintao (not to be confounded with Lintin) on the east, may be considered as the proper boundaries of the entrance to the Canton River.

These points are from fifteen to twenty miles apart, while between them lie several small islands, through which are the two principal navigable passages (the western and the Lintao passages) into the river itself. But the island of Lintao, called Tyho by the Chinese, is a long, narrow, mountainous piece of land, broken up into numerous bays and projecting points, stretching from south-west to north-east, and separated at the latter extremity from the mainland by only about the distance of a mile. The passage and anchorage between them is called Capsingmoon, and is made use of occasionally even by large vessels, which pass towards the river, or across from Macao towards the island of Hong Kong, which lies off the mainland about five or six miles to the eastward of Lintao.

The anchorage of Tongkoo Bay, towards which the Nemesis was to proceed to join the fleet, and which is also known by the name of Urmston's Harbour, from having been recommended by Sir James Urmston, formerly President of the Company's factory at Canton, is situated about six miles due north from Lintao, between the little islands called Tongkoo and Sowchow, near the mainland, as you proceed upwards within the outer waters of the

Canton River, along its eastern shores. It was here that the fleet anchored in 1823, in consequence of some discussions with the Chinese, arising out of the affair of the Topaze frigate, which occurred in the preceding year.*

About five miles distant from Tongkoo Bay, more towards the centre of the river, and a little to the northward, is the small island of Lintin, terminating in a very remarkable, high, conical peak, which is a guide to all vessels passing up or down. It has become famous as a place of rendezvous for the opium vessels, particularly within the last few years; and a merchant brig, bearing its name, has been recently sold to the Chinese as a man-of-war, though old, and not very serviceable. This island must not be confounded with that of Lintao, before alluded to, and from which it is about eight or nine miles distant.

Having now got fairly into Tongkoo Bay with the fleet, and feeling something of the interest and excitement which were awakened in the breasts of all who were brought together in such a place and at such a time, we will next proceed to recount a few of the remarkable events of the year 1840, reserving the description of the other parts of the river for those portions of the narrative with which they are connected.

As the disputes which led to the war in China are now familiar to every one, we shall merely state here, that towards the end of July, 1840, the British force assembled in China had become considerable; comprising no less than three line-of-battle ships, with a Rear-Admiral and a Commodore; thirteen other ships of war, of different kinds, and a large troop-ship; together with four armed steamers, belonging to the East India Company. To these must be added twenty-seven transports, having on board the 18th, 26th, and 49th regiments, a body of Bengal volunteers, and a corps of Madras sappers and miners. The mariners and seamen were, of course, prepared to co-operate on shore. This was, undoubtedly, a formidable force, especially when we reflect that little more than a year had elapsed since there was *no armed force whatever* in the Chinese waters, and the flag of England had ceased to wave even upon the Factories. The measures adopted by the Governor-general of India, when once the crisis had arrived, were sufficiently energetic and decisive. The consequences of the

* Some of the sailors of the Topaze were attacked and wounded on shore by the Chinese; and, in the scuffle, two Chinamen were killed. Remonstrances followed on both sides; and at length the Chinese demanded that two Englishmen should be delivered up to them for punishment. This was refused, as might be expected; upon which the Chinese authorities stopped the trade, and the fleet of merchant ships withdrew from Whampoa, and came to anchor in Tongkoo roads, henceforth called Urmston's Bay, or Harbour.

rupture were now easily foreseen; and the interest which the state of our relations with China had begun to awaken, both in England and in India, was daily becoming more general.

On the first arrival of the large force mentioned below,* it did not appear to alarm Commissioner Lin and his obsequious satellite Governor Tang nearly so much as might have been expected. On the contrary, Lin continued to organize means of defence, to enlist soldiers, and to arm his forts. It was, moreover, at this moment that he hit upon his notable expedient of offering immense rewards for the destruction, in any manner whatever, of British ships, either men-of-war or merchant vessels, and also for the capture or slaughter of British officers. But the reward for taking them alive was to be greater than for killing them. There was also a reward for taking soldiers or *merchants*, but only one-fifth of the sum if they were killed. A reward was also to be given for the capture of *coloured people*, soldiers, or servants, although its amount was not mentioned.

All this followed after the declaration of blockade by Sir Gordon Bremer, and after a public complaint had been made by Capt. Elliot against Lin and Tang for various treacherous acts, such as attacking our vessels at night (merchant vessels), poisoning the water, preventing supplies of food from being brought to the factories, &c. It was now very evident that, although no formal declaration of war had been made on our part, it had become impossible to avoid warlike operations on an extended scale, and at no distant time.

Rear-Admiral Elliot had been associated with Capt. Elliot in his diplomatic functions, and they were nominated Joint-Plenipotentiaries for settling the matters in dispute with the Emperor. That

* LIST OF NAVAL FORCES BELONGING TO H. B. MAJESTY IN CHINA, IN JULY AND AUGUST, 1840.

Melville, 74, flag-ship, Rear-Admiral the Hon. Geo. Elliot, C. B.; Capt. the Hon. R. S. Dundas.
Wellesley, 74, bearing the broad pendant of Commodore Sir J. J. Gordon Bremer, C. B.; Capt. Thomas Maitland.
Blenheim, 74, Sir H. S. Fleming Senhouse, K.C.B.
Druid, 44, Capt. Smith.
Blonde, 44, Capt. F. Bourchier.
Volage, 28, Captain G. Elliot.
Conway, 28, Capt. C. D. Bethune.
Alligator, 28, Capt. H. Kuper.
Larne, 20, Capt. J. P. Blake.
Hyacinth, 20, Capt. W. Warren.
Modeste, 20, Capt. H. Eyres.
Pylades, 20, Capt. T. V. Anson.
Nimrod, 20, Capt. C. A. Barlow.
Cruiser, 18, Capt. H. W. Giffard.
Columbine, 18, Capt. T. J. Clarke.
Algerine, 10, Capt. T. S. Mason.
Rattlesnake, troop-ship, Brodie.

Hon. Company's Armed Steamers.

Queen, Mr. Warden.
Madagascar, Mr. Dicey.
Atalanta, Commander Rogers.
Enterprise, Mr. West.

object appeared little likely to be attained by wasting time in negotiations with irresponsible and overbearing public officers at Canton; it was, therefore, wisely resolved to take advantage of the best season of the year while it still lasted, and to proceed northward with the bulk of the force, in order to bring the emperor and his ministers to their senses, by exciting alarm as near as possible to the imperial capital. The Peiho river, therefore, which commands one of the great channels of intercourse with the metropolis, and is connected with the Grand Canal, through which all the wealth of China flows to Pekin, was now avowedly the chief point to which the expedition was to be directed.

This movement was by no means a mere demonstration for the purpose of giving eclat to the conduct of the negotiations, but was in reality a *hostile* operation, at all events, it became so, as it proceeded, and the results of it may, in reality, be called the First Campaign in China. It was commonly called the first "China Expedition;" but the appellation was afterwards changed to the "Eastern Expeditionary Force," which was also applied to the second expedition, as will be afterwards seen. A small force being left at the Bogue to maintain the blockade, the bulk of the expedition, together with the two plenipotentiaries, sailed to the northward at the end of June; and part of the force above-mentioned, which had not then arrived, soon followed.

The first encounter with the Chinese took place at Amoy, in the beginning of July, 1840. The Blonde, 44, Capt. Bourchier, was sent into the harbour of Amoy, to endeavour to deliver a letter from the English naval commander-in-chief, addressed to the "Admiral of the Chinese nation." This high officer was not there, and the local mandarins refused to receive it, and fired upon a boat which was sent to the beach bearing a flag of truce at the bow, and conveying Mr. Thom, as interpreter, for the purpose of delivering the letter to the mandarins, for transmission to the Chinese admiral. The officers and crew of the boat had a narrow escape, for, besides being received with every possible indignity, the boat was fired at and *struck*, while preparations were evidently making for an attack upon the frigate herself. Indeed nothing could possibly be more hostile and insulting than the conduct of the Chinese officers who met Mr. Thom at the landing-place. They shewed some inclination even to seize the boat in which he came, and declared they feared neither him nor the ship. The result of their hostile bearing and of the attack on the boat was, that the guns of the Blonde were directed with terrific effect upon the Chinese batteries and the war-junks as soon as the boat reached the frigate. By this fire great damage was done, and the Chinese troops, who had assembled on the beach were dispersed in all directions. Having inflicted this

merited chastisement, the Blonde again set sail to join the main body of the force, in order to report the circumstances to the admiral.

On the 5th of July, the town of Tinghai, the capital of the island of Chusan, the principal of the group of islands bearing that name, fell to her Majesty's arms after a very slight resistance. But as this and other operations to the northward, during this brief season, have been well described by Lord Jocelyn, it will be sufficient merely to allude to them in a cursory way, particularly as they were of minor importance compared with subsequent events.

The failure of the attempt to deliver a letter from Lord Palmerston to some of the authorities at Ningpo, to be transmitted to the cabinet of Pekin, became a matter of serious importance, after what had taken place at Amoy, and, in consequence, a blockade of the coast was established from Ningpo to the mouth of the Yangtze River, the most frequented and most commercial part of the whole sea-board of China. Nothing was more likely to make a deep impression upon the Chinese government than the stoppage of this valuable trade, upon which the daily sustenance of a large part of the population of the interior actually depended. The ultimate conclusion of peace, which was brought about by the more active prosecution of these very measures, will be sufficient to prove their wisdom at that time; and it is due to Capt. Elliot to mention, that the blockade of the Yangtze River was at all times one of his most favourite projects.

About the middle of August, the bulk of the squadron arrived off the mouth of the Peiho, below Tientsin, having been preceded two or three days by Capt. Elliot, on board the Madagascar steamer. Lord Palmerston's communication was there at length received by an officer deputed for that purpose by Keshen, the governor of the province, and forwarded to the emperor. Subsequently, a conference was held on shore between Keshen and Capt. Elliot; and, whatever the results may otherwise have been, it is well known that the plenipotentiaries were persuaded by the ingenuity of Keshen that the future negotiations could be conducted with more satisfaction at Canton (provided a new commissioner were sent down from Pekin for that express purpose) than within a hundred miles of the emperor's palace.

In the meantime, however, while an answer was expected from the emperor to the communication addressed to his ministers by Lord Palmerston, the principal part of the squadron, which had come up to the Peiho, sailed further northward, up the gulf of Petchelee, to the great wall of China, which has so long been classed among the wonders of the world. The effect of the

emperor's answer and of the negotiations with Keshen was that this squadron withdrew from the neighbourhood of the capital; and Keshen himself was appointed Imperial Commissioner, to proceed at once to Canton, to open negotiations with the plenipotentiaries. He was to supersede Lin, who was ordered to Pekin in haste, to answer for his conduct. Nevertheless, he was subsequently allowed to remain as viceroy, or governor, at Canton, but never succeeded in obtaining the higher government which had been promised to him elsewhere in the heyday of his favour.

By the end of September, the squadron had returned to Chusan from the Peiho. A truce was about this time announced and published at Chusan; and a common impression prevailed that a general armistice had been concluded at Tientsin with Keshen, pending the result of the negotiations to be carried on at Canton. This, however, was soon found to be erroneous; for, in a letter addressed to the merchants by Admiral Elliot, in Tongkoo Bay, on the 26th of November, (the very day after the Nemesis had reported her arrival to the admiral,) it was publicly declared that "the truce had been only entered into with Elepoo, the governor-general of that province [Chekeang], and did not extend further." It must, however, have included the port of Ningpo, and other parts of the coast of the mainland, within the limits of the governor's authority.

The plenipotentiaries, Capt. Elliot, and the Hon. George Elliot, returned to Macao on the 20th of November. It was on the following day that The Queen steamer was fired at and hit, as she passed the Chuenpee fort with a flag of truce. She had orders to proceed up to the Bogue, to deliver a letter which had been entrusted to her captain from "Elepoo," (probably concerning the truce he had concluded,) addressed to the Imperial Commissioner Keshen at Canton. In return for this attack, she threw a few shells and heavy shot into the fort, and went back to Tongkoo Bay without performing her errand. This was the second time that a flag of truce had been fired at, although the Chinese perfectly understood the peaceful purpose which it denoted. The despatch, however, was forwarded the same evening to Keshen at Canton, through the sub-prefect of Macao, into whose hands it was delivered by Capt. Elliot. It was also reported that the commandant at Chuenpee sent up some of The Queen's heavy shot which had lodged in the fort, as a present to the authorities at Canton, probably to shew how brave he had been to withstand such weighty missiles. He did not lose the opportunity to claim a victory for having *driven* her off!

A heavy force was by this time collected at the mouth of the Canton River, strengthened as it had been by the arrival of the

Calliope and Samarang, and also of the Nemesis, and by the addition of a fresh regiment, the 37th Madras Native Infantry.

Keshen arrived at Canton on the 29th of November, and sent an official notification to that effect to the plenipotentiaries; and it is remarkable that, almost at the same moment, Adm. Elliot was compelled to resign the command of the fleet, and also his duties as joint-plenipotentiary, through sudden and severe illness. A few days afterwards he embarked for England in the Volage, leaving Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer as commander-in-chief, and Captain Elliot, for the time, as again the sole plenipotentiary.

In order to complete the general sketch of passing events to the close of 1840, I must not omit to mention the gallant affair at Macao, under Capt. Smith, commanding the Druid, which happened in the month of August, at the period when the main body of the expedition was engaged in the operations to the northward already alluded to. This officer had once before thought it necessary to sail into the Inner Harbour, for the protection of British subjects, but had retired upon a remonstrance from the Portuguese government.

In the month of August, however, strange rumours of a rather threatening character, but not of a very definite kind, began to prevail. One of the principal Chinese officers of Macao had been absent for some time at Canton, and, on his return, accompanied, or rather followed, by a body of troops, it became very evident that some hostile measure was in contemplation. A number of war-junks, having troops on board, were likewise collected in the Inner Harbour. A considerable body of men were also encamped upon the narrow neck of land which separates Macao from the mainland, and across which there is a so-called Barrier, which forms the line of demarcation, beyond which the Portugese have no jurisdiction. This Barrier is composed of a wall, with parapets and a ditch running across the isthmus, and having a gateway, with a guard-house over it, in the centre. Beyond the Barrier the Chinese had very recently thrown up a flanking field-work, mounting about 12 guns, with a view of protecting the rear of the Barrier from the attack of an enemy attempting to land in boats. The war-junks were also placed so close in shore, in the Inner Harbour, as to be able to protect the Barrier on that side.

These movements were quite sufficient to prove that some attack was contemplated upon Macao itself, and the result of it, if it had proved successful, cannot be thought of without horror. But the promptitude and energy of Capt. Smith anticipated the designs of the Chinese, and, by a most decisive and admirably

combined movement, he soon scattered the whole of the Chinese forces like chaff before the wind. Taking with him the Larne and Hyacinth, with the Enterprise steamer and the Louisa cutter, he sailed boldly up towards the Barrier, and ran in as close as the shallowness of the water would permit. He then opened a spirited fire upon the whole of the Chinese works and barracks, which the Chinese returned. Their soldiers were seen mustering from different points, for the defence of the position. In the course of an hour, the firing of the Chinese was almost silenced, and then a single gun was landed upon the beach, which raked the Chinese position, while a small body of marines, under Lieut. Maxwell, with some small-arm men from the Druid, under Lieut. Goldsmith, and about two companies of Bengal volunteers, under Captain Mee, altogether about 380 men, landed and drove the Chinese, with considerable loss, from every one of their positions. On the British side, four men only were wounded. The Chinese guns were spiked, but none carried away, and the whole of their troops were dispersed, nor did they afterwards approach the Barrier, except to carry off the spiked guns. The barracks and other buildings were burned; and, all our men having re-embarked late in the evening, the vessels returned to their former anchorage in Macao roads. Seldom has a more signal service been rendered in so short a space of time, than this seasonable and energetic measure adopted by Capt. Smith.

There still remain one or two points worth noticing, in order to complete the series of events which happened in the year 1840. Among these, one of the most important was the issuing of an Order in Council for the establishment of courts of admiralty in China, for the adjudication of prizes, &c. It was to the effect that, "in consideration of the *late injurious proceedings* of certain officers of the Emperor of China towards certain of our officers and subjects, and, whereas, orders had been given that satisfaction and reparation for the same should be demanded from the Chinese Government, it was necessary, for the purpose of enforcing those orders, that all vessels and goods belonging to the Emperor of China or *his subjects* should be detained and brought into port; and that, in the event of reparation and satisfaction being refused by the Chinese government, a court of Admiralty should be formed for the purpose of adjudging and condemning them as prizes." This order in council was not acted upon, except on a very limited scale, and for a very brief period. It was afterwards considered more equitable that the burden of the war should be made to fall as much as possible upon the *government* of China and as little as possible upon the people; and this highly judicious and humane determination was carried out as

much as possible, and with the best results, during all the latter part of the war, much to the credit of all concerned.

During the year 1840, very little progress was made in our endeavours to gain over the Chinese people to our interests, or to conciliate their forbearance, in any of the places in which we were brought into contact with them. At Chusan, in particular, they evinced the most hostile spirit towards us, and lost no opportunity of exhibiting their hatred of the foreigner. It was not without great difficulty even that provisions could be obtained for our men; there was evidently some secret influence which operated to prevent the people from meeting us amicably, and made them for some time resist even the temptation of gain, so difficult for a Chinaman to withstand. Nothing tended to exhibit their hostile spirit so much as their persevering attempts to carry off our men by stealth, whenever they could find an opportunity; and, indeed, the kidnapping system was followed up with many circumstances of barbarity to the very close of the war.

This embittered our men very much against the Chinese, and we may almost wonder that prisoners, when they fell into our hands, received such lenient treatment in return. The story is well known of Capt. Anstruther's capture at Chusan, at the distance of only two or three miles from the town, his being tied up in a sack, and subsequently carried over in a boat to Ningpo, on the mainland, and the curious history of his confinement in a bamboo cage, three feet long by two feet broad; and other instances of a similar kind, in which the prisoners were treated with the utmost barbarity, have been so often recounted, that a passing allusion to them will here be sufficient. Captain Anstruther, however, would seem to have been more leniently treated than many of the other prisoners: and I have heard him declare that, with respect to the better class of mandarins at Ningpo, he had little cause of complaint to urge against them, considering that he was a *prisoner* in an enemy's hands. His talent for drawing enabled him to conciliate their good will, and to earn some indulgences which others were not fortunate enough to procure. He sold his drawings, and particularly his portraits, for a tolerable price. Many of the other prisoners, however, were treated with frightful barbarity, and, in some instances, put to death.

A much more formidable enemy to us than the Chinese was soon discovered, in the terrible sickness which broke out among our troops at Chusan, and carried off many a brave man to a premature grave. The low, swampy rice-grounds surrounding the town, the want of proper drainage, the exposure to the hot sun,

and the use of the deleterious spirit which the Chinese call *samshoo*, made from rice, (of which a vast quantity was manufactured on the island for exportation,) all these causes combined sufficed to produce fever, dysentery, and various complaints, which made great havoc among the men. The island was subsequently rendered less unhealthy by better arrangements, and by enforcing greater cleanliness.

At Amoy, after the affair of the Blonde, a strict blockade was maintained by the Alligator and other vessels, which interrupted the whole trade of that important commercial city. But none of our ships astonished and alarmed the Chinese so much as the steamers; they were particularly alluded to in the official reports to the emperor, and were described as "having wheels at their sides, which, revolving, propelled them like the wind, enabling them to pass to and fro with great rapidity, acting as leaders;" and it is not surprising that the Chinese should soon have christened them the "Demon Ships."

The effect of our operations to the northward had already been to excite great alarm in the mind of the emperor and of his ministers; indeed the panic created by the first approach of a hostile force was so great, that a very small body of men might have marched almost from one end of China to the other, so little were the Chinese prepared for resistance. But gradually they recovered their energy, improved their means of defence, adopted better weapons, and cast heavier guns. As far as personal bravery could aid them, they were by no means an enemy to be despised. The spear and the bayonet frequently crossed each other; perhaps more frequently than the bayonets of Europeans do; and, in not a few instances, the *long* spear was more than a match for the shorter bayonet. Hand to hand encounters with the Tartar troops were not uncommon towards the close of the war; and, indeed, many of our men learnt, to their cost, that they had held the Chinese far too cheap. Instances occurred in which the powerful Tartar soldier rushed within the bayonet-guard of his opponent, and grappled with him for life or death.

We may now revert to the period of the arrival of the new Imperial Commissioner Keshen at Canton, with a view to treat with the plenipotentiaries, according to the terms agreed upon at the Peiho, as before mentioned. His predecessor, Lin, whose fall had now commenced, could not resist giving a parting warning to the people against the continuance of their pernicious habits; and he even assured them that, if they still persisted, "they would assuredly, one and all of them, be strangled."

In the beginning of December, the greater part of our naval forces had again assembled below the Bogue, although a squadron

was still left to the northward. Notwithstanding that Keshen had arrived for the ostensible purpose of inquiring into and settling all matters in dispute, it was evident that the Chinese were making hostile preparations, with a view to a very different mode of settlement of the question. A feeling of uncertainty and apprehension prevailed, such as generally precedes some great movement. The Chinese, on their side, were collecting troops and raising new works; while on our side, every precaution was taken, in case a resumption of hostilities should be required.

On the 13th, the Nemesis, which had been for some days at anchor with the fleet, a few miles below Chuenpee, conveyed Capt. Elliot down to Macao, while the rest of the fleet moved higher up towards the Bogue, as if with the object of supporting the "negotiations" by a firm display of power. Captain Elliot's stay at Macao was very short, and, from the increased activity of our preparations at the Bogue, it became evident that the "negotiations" were not going on satisfactorily.

Numerous communications were passing between Macao and our fleet at the Bogue: Capt. Elliot himself went backwards and forwards several times in the Nemesis, and the moment seemed fast approaching when some very decided blow was to be struck.

From twenty-two to twenty-five miles above the island of Lintin, and consequently about the same distance above Tongkoo Bay, on the same side of the river, is a projecting headland, about a mile and a quarter wide, distinguished at a considerable distance by the high peak in which its summit terminates. On either side of it there is a fine sandy beach, off which there is a good ancorage. This is Chuenpee.

The hill, which is its principal feature, stands rather towards the northern side of the promontory, and is divided into two conical eminences, upon one of which there was a high building, resembling a watch-tower, which was now fortified, and formed a conspicuous object as you ascended the river. At the bottom of the hill there were a considerable stone battery and other works. The whole of these had been very recently strengthened and extended. A line of entrenchment, with mud batteries, had also been carried round the rear. Behind the hill, in an opening looking towards the north, or into Anson's Bay, another small battery had been erected, with an enclosed space or square for barracks, surrounded by a parapet wall. The extent of these works was not properly known, until the attack upon the place had commenced. It was generally believed that the promontory and hill of Chuenpee were connected with the mainland, and it

was not until some time after the place was taken that the discovery was made that Chuenpee was, in reality, *an island*. On the opposite or western side of the river, which is here about three miles wide, is another smaller promontory, called Tycocktow, with a line of small batteries close along the shore, faced with granite. This was also subsequently found to be an *island*. The whole of the country which borders the river is mountainous and picturesque.

Returning to the east side, four or five miles above Chuenpee, we come to the high hill and fortifications of Anunghoy, the most important of the works at the Bogue. Between Chuenpee and Anunghoy lies the beautiful bay called Anson's Bay, about two miles deep, on one side of which it was at one time proposed to found an English town. Anunghoy, like Chuenpee, was discovered to be also an *island*; and that circumstance was a source of great anxiety to Keshen, who saw the consequent weakness of the position of Anunghoy, and reported it to the emperor. In fact, our light squadron might have probably gone up the river by the passage at the back of Anunghoy, without passing through the Bogue at all. But these facts were not then known.

The works at Anunghoy consisted of two very strong, heavy batteries, built of excellent granite, and partly of the composition called chunam. The masses of stone were afterwards found to be of immense size, so much so, that it was no easy task to blow the works to pieces, even after they were taken. The two principal batteries were connected together by temporary works of recent construction; and, according to the usual Chinese practice, a semicircular wall was carried round the rear of each fort along the side of the hill.

The breadth of the river, from Anunghoy to the opposite side, is about two miles, being somewhat less than it is lower down, between Chuenpee and Tycocktow. But in the very middle of the river in this part are two rocky islands, called North and South Wantung, of moderate elevation, and also a smaller rock, scarcely visible at high water. Hence there are two channels up the river, one on either side of these islands, but that on the east side, towards Anunghoy, is the one which had always been frequented by foreign ships, and was considered to be the Bocca Tigris, or Bogue.

The passage on the western side of Wantung was not only not frequented by Europeans, but not even known to be navigable, until our preparations were made for the capture of the Bogue forts, when some of our ships passed up on that side to the attack of North Wantung. The true Bogue, or eastern passage, is only about three quarters of a mile wide; the current, or rather

the tide, is very rapid, on which account ships generally prefer keeping rather near to the Anunghoy side. Of the two islands called Wantung, the northern is the highest and largest, lying quite opposite Anunghoy, and very strongly fortified. South Wantung, the smaller island, was not fortified by the Chinese, being not considered by them of sufficient importance. It lies some distance lower down the river, and, looking at their relative positions, you would hardly suppose that they were within effectual gun-shot distance from each other. Such, however, was the case; and the Chinese forts on North Wantung were shelled from South Wantung by a small battery, constructed by a detachment of our troops in a single night, being covered during their work principally by the Nemesis, which ran close in shore for that purpose, being herself sheltered by the island.

Further to obstruct the passage up the Bogue, the Chinese had carried an immense chain, or rather a double chain, across it, supported by large rafts from one side to the other, one end of it being secured at Anunghoy, and the other end being fastened into a rock near South Wantung, which was nearly covered at high water. To complete the account of these famous defences, it only remains to mention another fort on the western side of the river, nearly opposite Wantung, called little Tycocktow, and not of recent construction. By the Chinese themselves, these extensive works were considered impregnable, for they had not yet experienced the tremendous effect of the concentrated fire of line-of-battle-ships.

Tiger Island can scarcely be said to form part of the Bocca Tigris; it lies nearly two miles above Wantung; and, although there was a considerable stone battery on its eastern side, it was not likely to be of any service, and the Chinese wisely abandoned it and removed the guns. This island, however, is a remarkable feature in the general aspect of the river, being in reality a high rocky mountain, cleft in two at the top, and presenting to view several deep chasms on both sides, yet clothed with verdure in some parts, while it is rudely broken up in others. It is altogether a very peculiar object, although it cannot be said to bear much resemblance to a tiger's head, from which it takes its name.

CHAPTER XI.

The Imperial Commissioner Keshen now wisely resolved to gain as much time as he could by negotiation, and seemed in the

first instance to have almost equalled his predecessor Lin, in his desire "to control the foreigners, and to reduce them to submission." His conferences with that functionary, who now remained at Canton as viceroy, were numerous and confidential; but, instead of precipitating the crisis by mad violence, he professed to trust rather to the "employment of *truth* and the *utmost reason*" to attain his ends.

Keshen's cautiousness was at once shewn by the instructions which he issued respecting the nature of the *white flag*, and by his enjoining that for the future the troops were "not rashly to open their artillery, without *first* ascertaining what was the purpose of the approach of any boat bearing such a flag." And, moreover, that "they were not to *provoke* hostilities, by being the first to fire on the foreign ships, nor in their *desire for honours* to endeavour to create trouble." On his side, likewise, Captain Elliot was quite as anxious to avoid a collision as Keshen himself; and thus affairs went on until the close of the year, without any approach whatever to a solution of the difficulties.

Great as our force already was even at that period, it does not seem to have at all intimidated Keshen, who appeared to gain courage as he gained time. Indeed, it could hardly be expected that the ancient barrier of Chinese pride and self-sufficiency would crumble down before a single blow, however strong; and even the chief actor in the scene himself hesitated long to strike, when he knew that it would make an empire tremble.

Lin was by no means wanting in energy to meet the great crisis which he had contributed so much to produce. In addition to the enlisting of troops, the preparation of defences, the casting of guns, the building of fire-vessels and gun-boats, &c., he directed that many passages of the river should be blocked up with stones, and others staked across with piles. In short, Lin was a bold, uncompromising, and specious man. He tried to console the Emperor, by assuring him that he was quite certain that, along the northern coast, sickness and cold would carry off all the barbarian forces, even if the want of food and the exhaustion of their powder and shot did not reduce them to extremities; but he never once alluded to any probability of being able to beat off the barbarians in fair fight.

Keshen appears to have been one of the few about the court who began to apprehend serious consequences from Lin's measures. He had always been cautious in committing himself, and though no friend of the foreigners, he had feared their power, and felt the weakness of his own country, as well as the necessity of trying some other measures than those means hitherto employed, to put a stop to the perpetual disturbances which took place in

several parts of the empire, and threatened rebellion even within the capital. Keshen was an astute courtier, a polished and well-mannered man, and all those who were present at either of his two interviews with Capt. Elliot were struck with his courteous and gentlemanlike manner. Although he made every preparation for resistance, he seems to have thought he could gain more by diplomacy, and he resolved to take advantage of the disposition for negotiation rather than dictation on Capt. Elliot's part, to play his cards with tact and cunning, in the hope of gaining time. But he saw his weakness, and the impossibility of contending with success against our forces, and, having distinctly reported thereon to the Emperor, he was, of course, set down as a coward, and, consequently, as a traitor. He had the boldness to tell the Emperor the actual weakness of his strongest points of defence; whereas Lin only stated how much stronger they *would* have been, had the government made it a rule to devote 10 per cent. of the whole customs' revenue of Canton to the improvement of their means of defence, the building of ships, and the casting of cannon.

In one thing, however, Lin and Keshen were both of a mind—namely, as to the importance of the foreign trade of Canton to the imperial revenue. They ventured to correct the Emperor's notion that the customs' duties of Canton were "unimportant, and not worth a thought," by telling him that they "already" produced upwards of thirty millions of taels, or ten millions sterling, and that, as the revenue of Canton far *exceeded* that of any other province, a portion of this considerable sum, which was obtained *from* foreigners, should have been applied to defending themselves *against* foreigners.*

We have seen that there was little probability, at the close of 1840, of any satisfactory arrangement being made between Keshen and Capt. Elliot without a resort to arms. Accordingly, all preparations were completed; and, the first week in January having passed without any nearer prospect of a settlement, although repeated opportunities had been given to Keshen to arrange matters amicably, as had been agreed upon at the conference at Tientsin, orders were issued for the immediate resumption of hostilities. The morning of the 7th of January, 1841, was the period fixed on for the attack upon the forts at Chuenpee and Tycocktow, being the lowest, or, in other words, the first, you approach in ascending the river. The object was to reduce the whole of the famous defences of the Bogue one after another, and, if necessary, to destroy them.

* The imperial revenues scarcely formed a *third* of what was actually paid in various ways!

The plan of attack upon Chuenpee and the forts on the opposite side of the river at Tycocktow, under the direction of Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer, now commander-in-chief, was as follows. The troops, comprising detachments of the 26th and 49th regiments, (the greater part of which were with their headquarters at Chusan,) under Major Johnstone, of the 26th, together with the whole of the 37th Madras Native Infantry, under Capt. Duff, of that regiment, and a detachment of the Bengal Volunteers, under Capt. Bolton, were to embark on board the Enterprise and Madagascar steamers by 8 o'clock in the morning, to be conveyed to the point of debarkation, which was selected about two miles and a half below Chuenpee, to the southward, where they were to be landed in boats. The Nemesis took on board a large portion of the 37th. A battalion of royal marines, upwards of 500 strong, under Capt. Ellis, were to be landed in the boats of their respective ships; while a body of seamen, under Lieut. Wilson, of the Blenheim, were also to join the landing force. A small detachment of the royal artillery was to be under the command of Capt. Knowles, R.A., having under him the Hon. C. Spencer; and one 24-pounder howitzer, with two 6-pounder guns, one from the Wellesley, and one from the Melville, were to be landed, together with 30 seamen, to be attached to them for the purpose of placing them in position; also 15 men from the Blenheim were to be employed in the rocket and ammunition service.

In front of the Chinese entrenchments there was a ridge, by which they were, in a manner, commanded, and upon the crest of this the guns were to be placed. During this operation, strong covering parties were to be pushed in advance, and to act according to circumstances, waiting for the effect of the fire from the guns, as well as from the ships, which were to be placed in the best positions for silencing the batteries.

The whole of the force on shore was under the command of Major Pratt, of the Cameronians, and comprised altogether about 1,500 men.

As regards the naval force engaged, it was ordered, that the Queen and Nemesis steamers should proceed to take up a position within good shelling distance, according as the depth of water would permit; and at once to commence firing into the fort upon the summit of the hill. Having rendered this post untenable, and having watched the advance of the troops which might be selected to take possession of it, they were then immediately to attack the lower fort, along the shore near the northern point, if it should not have been already abandoned cr carried. Meanwhile, the fire from the fort above, by this time expected to be in possession of a portion of our troups, was also to be turned in the same

direction; and, when the enemy should be driven out, they were to be "dealt with" by the remaining part of the troops.

The Madagascar and Enterprise steamers, as soon as they had landed their troops, were to join the division under Capt. (now Sir Thomas) Herbert, in the Calliope, having with him the Larne, Capt. Blake, and the Hyacinth, Capt. Warren. They were directed to proceed to attack the batteries, towards the northern extremity, as well as in front, and to be prepared to proceed to capture some of the numerous war-junks, which were seen at anchor at the bottom of Anson's Bay. The two steamers above-mentioned were also to hold themselves in readiness to go alongside any ship that might chance to require their services.

Capt. Belcher, of the Sulphur surveying vessel, was to take upon himself the general charge of the steamers, in the first instance, so far as concerned "the placing of them in a position already ascertained by him;" which, probably, referred to the position to be taken up for shelling the upper fort, as well as to the point of debarkation for the troops. Such, then, was the plan of attack upon Chuenpee.

The landing and re-embarkation of the forces was under the direction of Lieut. Symonds, of the Wellesley, and the whole of it was conducted with great regularity. The landing of any considerable body of troops is always an exciting scene; but, now, for the first time in the history of China, if we except the trifling affair at the barrier at Macao, European troops were about to meet in battle the sons of the "flowery nation," upon the very soil of the "Celestial Empire." Nor did the Chinese shrink from the contest in the first instance, for they had yet to learn the irresistible power of European warfare and the destructive efficacy of European warfare.

The leading troops were the royal marines and the royal artillery, the guns being dragged along by the blue-jackets. The road lay through a winding valley for nearly the distance of a couple of miles, until it led to a transverse ridge, from which could be viewed the whole of the Chinese works, consisting of a strong, entrenched camp, flanked by small field-batteries of recent and hasty construction, and connected with the Hill Fort above by a high breastwork continued up the hill towards it. The object of the Chinese was evidently to protect the rear of the fort, which was plainly the key of the position. In the rear of their field-batteries were deep trenches, for giving shelter to their men from our shot, and they could be seen lining the works, and waving their flags in defiance.

The guns of the royal artillery were soon in position upon the ridge, and began firing with great precision into the entrenched

camp; while an advanced party of the royal marines, crossing the shoulder of the hill to the right, drove the Chinese speedily from it; and, then, descending into the valley beyond, came upon a second encampment, with a small field-battery, which was soon cleared. A detachment of the 37th M. N. Infantry had also been sent further round to the right of the advance, where they encountered the Chinese in some force.

While these operations were going on, the Queen and the Nemesis steamers (the latter having first rapidly disembarked her portion of the 37th, with the main body of the force) took up a position within good shelling distance of the Hill Fort. The Nemesis, from her light draught of water, was enabled to take up her station *inside* the Queen, and both vessels commenced throwing shell with great precision into the fort, much to the astonishment of the Chinese, who were unacquainted with this engine of destruction. Capt. Hall had on this, as on several subsequent occasions, the able assistance, as a gunnery officer, of Mr. Crouch, one of the mates of the Wellesley, who was permitted to serve for a time on board the Nemesis. The Chinese could not long withstand the fire of the 68-pounder of the Queen, and the two 32-pounder pivot-guns of the Nemesis, the shells from which could be seen bursting within the walls of the fort.

At the same time, on the land-side, the principal entrenched camp had by this time been carried by the main body of the troops, and, 25 minutes after the shelling of the fort had commenced, the British flag was seen waving upon its top, and the firing ceased. Major Pratt himself, with only two marines, had been the first to run up the hill and reach the fort; upon which, the Chinese, seeing that they were pressed behind as well as before, abandoned the fort in great confusion, leaving Major Pratt and his followers in possession of this most important position, upon which the British flag was hoisted by a royal marine.

The Nemesis, as soon as this was perceived, hastened on to join the ships of war, (the Calliope, Larne, and Hyacinth,) which had taken up their positions, nearly within musket-shot of the lower batteries, and were doing great execution. The works were, however, constructed of strong material, comprising large blocks of the composition called chunam, very much resembling stone, but less fragile. The Nemesis came up just in time to pour in several discharges of grape and canister from both the pivot-guns, and had then to witness one of the most dreadful spectacles of war. The Chinese in the battery had already been assailed by our troops from the fort above; and now, a party of the royal marines, and the 37th M. N. I., which had previously cleared the

second camp in the valley behind, were seen coming round the hill, ready to pounce upon them as they attempted to escape out of the fort. The unfortunate men were thus hemmed in on all sides; and, being unacquainted with the humane practice of modern warfare, of giving and receiving quarter, they abandoned themselves to the most frantic despair.

Now were to be seem some of those horrors of war which, when the excitement of the moment is over, and the interest as well as danger of strategic manœuvres are at an end, none can remember without regret and pain. The Chinese, not accepting quarter, though attempting to escape, were cut up by the fire of our advancing troops; others, in the faint hope of escaping what to them appeared certain death at the hands of their victors, precipitated themselves recklessly from the top of the battlements; numbers were now swimming in the river, and not a few vainly *trying* to swim, and sinking in that effort; some few, perhaps a hundred, surrendered themselves to our troops, and were soon afterwards released. Many of the poor fellows were unavoidably shot by our troops, who were not only warmed with the previous fighting, but exasperated because the Chinese had fired off their matchlocks at them first, and then thrown them away, as if to ask for quarter; under these circumstances, it could not be wondered at that they suffered. Some of them again barricaded themselves within the houses of the fort, a last and desperate effort; and, as several of our soldiers were wounded by their spears, death and destruction were the consequence. The slaughter was great; nor could it be easily controlled when the men were irritated by the protracted and *useless* attacks made upon them from behind walls and hiding-places, even *after* the British flag was hoisted. It is wonderful that the casualties among the men were not more numerous.

The commandant of the fort was killed at the head of his men; and it is related that his son, as soon as he found that his father was dead, resolving not to survive him, and being unable to avenge his death, jumped into the sea in spite of all remonstrance, and was drowned. Those who have witnessed the individual bravery, be it courage or be it despair, frequently exhibited by the Chinese during the war, in almost every encounter, will be slow to stamp them as a cowardly people, however inefficient they may be as fighting men in armed bodies, against European discipline and modern weapons. The most painful of all the scenes on this occasion was that of the bodies of men burnt perhaps to death when wounded.

It is well known that the bow and arrow is the favourite weapon of the Tartar troops, upon the dexterous use of which they set

the highest claim to military distinction. The spear also, of various forms and fashions, is a favourite weapon both of Tartars and Chinese; but the matchlock, which in all respects very nearly resembles some of the old European weapons of the same name, except that the bore is generally somewhat smaller, is of much more modern introduction, and by no means so much in favour with the Chinese; this is occasioned principally by the danger arising from the use of the powder, in the careless way in which they carry it. They have a pouch in front, fastened round the body, and the powder is contained loose in a certain number of little tubes inside the pouch, not rolled up like our cartridges. Of course, every soldier has to carry a match or port-fire to ignite the powder in the matchlock when loaded. Hence, when a poor fellow is wounded and falls, the powder, which is apt to run out of his pouch over his clothes, is very likely to be ignited by his own match, and in this way he may either be blown up at once, or else his clothes may be set on fire: indeed, it is not impossible that the match itself may be sufficient to produce this effect. At Chuenpee, many bodies were found after the action, not only scorched, but completely burnt, evidently from the ignition of the powder.

In one of the latest encounters during the war, at Chapoo, where a few of the Tartars defended themselves so desperately in a house in which they had taken refuge, they were seen stripping themselves altogether, in order to escape the effect of the fire upon their combustible clothes when the building was in flames; and many other instances of a similar kind were noticed during the war.

With respect to the attack upon the fort at Tycocktow, on the opposite side of the river, the Nemesis was not concerned in that part of the operations of the 7th January. The force employed on that service was placed under the orders of Capt. Scott, of the Samarang, 26; and consisted, in addition to that vessel, of the Druid, 44, Capt. Smith; the Modeste, 18, Commander Eyres; and Columbine, 16, Commander Clarke. Capt. Scott was directed to proceed to attack the forts upon Tycocktow, and to dismantle them, spiking the guns, and destroying the forts as much as possible; after which, he was to take up a convenient position in reference to the expected operations against the proper Bogue forts higher up.

Capt. Scott led the way gallantly in the Samarang, without returning the fire of the Chinese, until he dropped anchor within cable's length of the middle of the fort. The Modeste, Druid, and Columbine came up almost directly after, and then commenced the terrific thunder of artillery, which soon sufficed to

shatter the walls, and to make a breach, through which the seamen and marines, who were landed from the ships, soon carried the fort by storm. The Chinese fled in all directions up the hill, but not without witnessing the deadly effect of our musketry upon their confused bodies; nor did they yield without shewing some instances of bold personal courage.

The attack was led by Lieutenants Bowers and Bingham, the former of whom received a sabre cut across the knee, which shews that the Chinese did not run away without first coming to close quarters; their loss, however, was considerable. The guns in the fort were all spiked, and then thrown into the sea; the magazines and other buildings were set on fire, (the wounded having been first removed;) but it was not thought necessary to pursue the Chinese further.

As soon as these operations were completed, the whole of the party which had landed, comprising the boats' crews of all the ships engaged, returned on board. Part of them—namely, those of the Druid and Columbine, commanded by Lieut. Goldsmith, (since promoted,) had proceeded to attack the northern end of the fort, and great praise was given to all the officers and men concerned, for their gallantry and good conduct. The number of guns destroyed was 25; those which were captured at Chuenpee amounted altogether to 66 pieces of various calibre, including those in the entrenchments, as well as those upon the upper and lower forts. Many of the guns, however, were not mounted, shewing that the preparations for defence had not been completed; some were only 6-pounders, but a great portion of the remainder were about equal to our own 12-pounder guns. Of course they were all rendered unserviceable.

So far as relates to Chuenpee and Tycocktow, little remains to be added, except that the killed and wounded, on the part of the land force, on our side, amounted to 30; and on that of the naval force, to 8 men and officers. But the destruction of the war-junks in Anson's Bay also formed part of the feats of this day; and as the Nemesis was more particularly concerned, it shall be reserved for a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

The total destruction of the Chinese squadron of war-junks, on the day of the action at Chuenpee, (7th January,) under the orders of Admiral Kwan, completed the discomfiture of the Chinese by

sea and by land. The engagement took place in Anson's Bay, which lies between Chuenpee and Anunghoy. The Nemesis here took a most distinguished part; and some of the boats of the Calliope, Hyacinth, Larne, Sulphur, and Starling, co-operated with her in the action.

At the bottom of Anson's Bay was the entrance of a small river, unknown until now, having a small island at its mouth, somewhat on the Chuenpee side. Within this, and in a measure protected by a sand-bar which ran out from it, lay the Chinese fleet of about 15 war-junks, moored in a good position in shallow water, so as to prevent the near approach of our ships. Directions had been given that arrangements should be made for the attack of these war-junks, as soon as the defences on Chuenpee should have fallen. The moment, therefore, that it was perceived on board the Nemesis, as she ran up towards the lower battery, and poured in her grape and canister, that the upper fort had fallen, and that the lower could not longer hold out, she hastened, without a moment's delay, to the attack of the enemy's squadron. Full steam was set on, without waiting to see what other measures might be taken elsewhere to effect the object.

In her anxiety to secure the post of honour, the Nemesis rounded the point of Chuenpee a little too close, and struck rather heavily upon a rocky reef running out some distance from it, but upon which it was thought that there was still water enough to enable her to float safely. She passed over it, indeed, yet not without striking; but her iron frame did not *hang* upon it as a wooden one would probably have done, and she proceeded, without even stopping her engines. That the force of the blow was considerable, and would probably have seriously damaged a wooden vessel, is shewn by the fact of her having the outer paddle-ring of one of the wheels broken, together with two of the long arms attached to it. A blow which would cause such injury to *iron* would evidently have done much more serious damage to wood. About this time, Captain Belcher, of the Sulphur, joined her with two of his ship's boats, anxious to partake of the honour of the affair. A few of the seamen of the Sulphur also came on board. As she passed along, she was further reinforced by Lieut. Kellett, of the Starling, who brought his gig, or whale-boat, and subsequently did good service.

On approaching the position in which the Chinese junks were drawn up, it was easily perceived that it had been well chosen, with scarcely more than five feet water round the vessels, and that, in fact, they could not be attacked in front, except by boats, However, the Nemesis, having the great advantage of drawing less than six feet water, was able to approach near enough to bring her

two 32-pounder pivot-guns to bear within good range. Just at this moment a large boat, or pinnace, from the Larne, was observed making its way round the outside of the little island, with a view to cut off the junks in the rear. The boldness of this manœuvre, under the command of Lieut. Harrison, was much admired; and, indeed, the dashing way in which many similar attacks were made on other occasions during the war, took the Chinese by surprise, and struck them with a wholesome terror, even before they came to close quarters.

One of the most formidable engines of destruction which any vessel, particularly a steamer, can make use of is the Congreve rocket, a most terrible weapon when judiciously applied, especially where there are combustible materials to act upon. The very first rocket fired from the Nemesis was seen to enter the large junk against which it was directed, near that of the admiral, and almost instantly it blew up with a terrific explosion, launching into eternity every soul on board, and pouring forth its blaze like the mighty rush of fire from a volcano. The instantaneous destruction of the huge body seemed appalling to both sides engaged. The smoke, and flame, and thunder of the explosion, with the fragments falling round, and even portions of dissevered bodies scattering as they fell, were enough to strike with awe, if not with fear, the stoutest heart that looked upon it.

There was a momentary pause; and, after some discharges of round shot had been thrown into the nearest junks, their crews were observed endeavouring to escape on shore, some upon the little island, and others upon Chuenpee; at the same time, the junks were all cut away by those remaining on board, in order that they might drift on shore, and enable the rest to escape.

The Chinese hauled down their colours on board their junks at about half past eleven, but continued firing afterwards. At about twelve o'clock, the boats of the Nemesis, in company with the others which were present, put off to board the junks. Only two of the smaller succeeded in getting away up a small branch of the river, while two more escaped for the moment up another principal branch to a large town, but were subsequently captured. Some of the junks drifted on shore; and, as there could be no utility in saving them, they were all successively set on fire, and ultimately blew up. In some of the junks which were not yet quite abandoned by their crews, the poor Chinamen, as the English sailors boarded them on one side, rushed wildly over on the other, or let themselves down by the stern chains, clinging to the ship's rudder. Others, as the fire gained upon their junk, retreated before it, and continued hanging to the yet untouched portions, until, the flames advancing upon them rapidly, they were

obliged to throw water over *their own bodies* to enable them to bear the intense heat, still desperately clinging to their fate, more from fear of ill-treatment if they should be taken prisoners than from any rational hope of being saved. In many instances they *would not* be saved; in others, they *could not*, and were destroyed as their junk blew up.

On the following day, the principal part of the guns were recovered, altogether upwards of 80 in number, of which 8 or 10 were handsome brass Portuguese guns, 6, 9, and 12-pounders. Eleven junks were destroyed on the spot. Scarcely had this duty been completed by the different boats engaged, when the Nemesis hastened on up the river, and at the distance of about three miles, came upon a large town, where she found two war-junks moored close to the shore, but abandoned by their crews. The consternation of the people was extreme; they were seen running away from the town in all directions; the surrounding hills were crowded with the anxious and astonished gazers, wondering what was going to happen next; never, of course, having either seen or heard of a "devil ship" before, and well knowing that her visit could only be a hostile one It was enough that they had already heard of the total destruction of their fleet at the river's mouth. The place was not at all fortified, not a shot being fired on either side.

The tide was now beginning to fall, and as the water was not deep, and the bar would soon become impassable, and the day was already far advanced, it was thought better to return without exploring the river higher up. Accordingly, taking in tow the two junks, the Nemesis again descended the river; but one of the junks getting aground on the bar at the entrance, was obliged to be left behind, while the other was taken safely down, and soon after five P.M., the Nemesis joined the squadron off Chuenpee. and received the thanks of the commodore for the services she had rendered during the day. She had received no important damage, the paddle-box only having been injured by a well-directed shot from one of the junks.

To the Chinese this had been, in all respects, a most disastrous day. Their stone walls and their wooden walls had been alike destroyed; and, although they might before have dreaded us by sea, they had never until now had an opportunity of testing the power of Europeans on land. On this day, the 7th of January, 1841, the native Indian troops and the Royal Marines constituted considerably more than two-thirds of the whole force employed on shore.

The loss of many hundred killed and wounded on the Chinese side, with something less than 40 wounded and none killed on

our side, shews that the Chinese were deficient in proper weapons to match their foes, than wanting in personal bravery to meet them in the fight: and, as they were not yet acquainted with the European mode of sparing an unresisting enemy, they suffered great loss from unsupported and useless resistance, when timely submission would have saved many lives. They exasperated our troops without a chance of benefiting themselves.

The Chinese admiral, the fine old Kwan, lost the red ball or button of his cap, the emblem of his rank, during the encounter with the junks. It was reported that he wished to meet death at the hands of his foe, and was with some difficulty borne off by his attendants; but this fate was reserved for him on a future occasion, and he shewed himself a chivalrous and brave man. The loss of this ball or button, conferred by imperial favour as an emblem of rank, seemed to occasion him the greatest uneasiness. He requested that it might be returned to him, if it chanced to be found; and through the intervention of Capt. Elliot it was recovered and restored.

The total number of guns taken or rendered unserviceable during the operations of this day, ashore and afloat, amounted to 173 pieces, including 82 in the junks, of which a few were brass, but mostly of small calibre.

The junks with which the Nemesis was engaged in Anson's Bay were provided with quite a new sort of boarding-nettings, if they can be so called. Probably old Admiral Kwan, whose reputation as a seaman was not very great, had heard that English ships of war were sometimes provided with nets when going into action; and, therefore, without knowing very well what might be the purpose of them, he determined to have them likewise. But he made a sad mistake concerning the object for which they were intended. He very naturally thought, that, in the position which he had taken up in shallow water, only the boats of the squadron could come close to him, and he hit upon the bright notion of trying to *catch them* with his nets, just as a poacher catches his sleeping game by throwing a net over it. A number of strong fishing-nets were fastened all round the sides of the junks, not extended so as to impede any one trying to get on board, but triced up outside over each of the guns, in such a way, that, when our boats should come alongside, the nets were to be thrown over them, men and all; and thus our jolly tars were to be caught like hares in their form, and handed over to the tender mercies of the emperor. No sooner, however, did the guns of the Nemesis open fire, than the nets were all forgotten in their fear of the shot and the rockets; and, long before the boats could get

alongside, the defenders and men-catchers were glad to be off, to avoid being themselves caught.

A more unwieldy-looking machine, or one less calculated for efficient service at sea, than the old-fashioned junks, can scarcely be conceived. Although, since the commencement of the war, they have gradually improved them very much in the fashion of the hull, yet the masts, sails, and all that appertains to the rigging of a vessel, are very little different from what they have hitherto been. The boats and smaller rigged vessels are generally very superior to the large junks in form and convenience of arrangement, and often sail very well. The family to whom a boat belongs lives entirely on board, and, for the combined purposes for which their boats are generally used, perhaps no arrangement could be better adapted for making the most of a limited space; and they are, moreover, kept remarkably clean.

The war-junks are of different sizes, and have guns varying in number from four to fourteen, and even more, mounted upon them, of various calibre, some of foreign make, but principally Chinese. The smaller junks are also adapted for oars or sweeps, of which they sometimes can work as many as twenty on either side. The crew are further provided with a great number of spears, swords, matchlocks, and frequently large ginjals, not unlike our musquetoons, fitted with a rest upon the bulwarks of the vessel, so as to give the power of taking a steady aim. There are generally a large number of round shields on board, made in a saucer-like fashion, and two and a half to three feet in diameter. They are composed of ratans, or canes, strongly twisted or woven in together, and so elastic that it would be very difficult to cut through them with a sword; and even a musket-ball fired from a long distance, and hitting them at all in a slanting direction, would be turned off. They are usually hung all round the bulwarks, resting upon the top and outside of them, giving a very striking appearance. A large junk puts one very much in mind of one of the old Roman galleys, only it is less efficiently constructed for venturing away from land, and is not unfrequently gaudily ornamented with green and yellow colours.

Several improvements have been adopted by the Chinese since the commencement of the war. They had constructed a number of gun-boats for the defence of the river higher up, upon European models; and, towards the close of the war, they built one or two large junks, which they called frigates, with great improvements in shape and general arrangement, and regular port-holes for the guns on the deck below, and with heavy guns, too, mounted in them. One of these we saw near the Bogue, after the peace, mounting 36 guns, all of foreign manufacture, many of them 9

and 12-pounder iron guns, made by Fawcett, of Liverpool, and purchased either at Macao or at Singapore. The junk was very clean, and in good order, painted green and coppered; and, with the exception of the masts and sails, which were in the old style, she looked very well. This vessel was said to have been constructed by order of Tinqua, one of the Hong merchants, who has distinguished himself by his zeal in defence of his country; and it was by him presented to the emperor, together with a European barque, and a brig, rather the worse for wear in the merchant service, which he purchased at considerable cost.

But the most remarkable improvement of all, and which shewed the rapid stride towards a great change which they were daily making, as well as the ingenuity of the Chinese character, was the construction of several large *wheeled* vessels, which were afterwards brought forward against us with great confidence, at the engagement at Woosung, the last naval affair of the war, and each commanded by a mandarin of rank, shewing the importance they attached to their new vessels. This, too, was so far north as the Yangtze Keang, where we had never traded with them; so that the idea must have been suggested to them by the reports they received concerning the wonderful power of our steamers or wheeled vessels. These vessels had wooden wheels, very like an undershot mill-wheel, which were moved by machinery inside the vessel, worked by a sort of capstan by manual labour, the crew walking it round and round, just like walking up an anchor on board a man-of-war; the horizontal revolution was turned into the upright one by strong wooden *cog-wheels*, upon regular mechanical principles.

When once the spirit of change and improvement has taken hold of the Chinese, it is impossible to say where it will stop among so ingenious and indefatigable a people. Even the emperor himself has ordered still greater changes to be made since the peace, and has directed that "the best materials for building ships shall be procured from all parts of the world; and that, as only ships built on European principles can contend with European ships, they must gradually learn to adopt European models themselves. But as this can only be effected by time, and the ships are required now to suppress the pirates who infest his coast, they are at once to purchase foreign ships and learn to exercise their crews."

We may now ask what sort of a report was made by Admiral Kwan to his mighty master, upon the subject of these first actions below the Bogue—the first great collision between the power and science of the West and the self-confidence of the remote East. Keshen, clear-sighted as he certainly was, could not fail to per-

ceive the many troubles and humiliations to which his country must be subjected if hostilities were pushed to extremes. He was fully alive to the serious defeat he had sustained, yet dreaded to break the truth too suddenly to his haughty master; wise, therefore, in his generation, he declared that there had been a "drawn battle." He informed his master that the contest had been maintained from eight A.M. until two P.M., and that "then, the *tide ebbing*, the foreign vessels ceased firing, and anchored in the middle of the stream, *each side maintaining its ground*." He then adverted to the measures he had adopted for reinforcing the position, and apologizes for the absence of more detailed information upon the ground of his anxiety to communicate the earliest possible intelligence.

The emperor, or rather his ministers, were not so easily to be duped. Keshen was at once declared to be "incompetent;" and it was ordered that his conduct "should be subjected to the severest consideration;" while poor old Kwan was accused of being "at all times devoid of talent to direct, and, on the approach of a crisis, to be alarmed, perturbed, and without resources." He was accordingly at once deprived of his rank and insignia of office, but was ordered henceforth to labour to attain merit, bearing his punishment in the mean time.

Various plans were suggested for future proceedings against the English; it was admitted that the junks could not cope with our ships on the open sea, and it was therefore recommended "that our vessels should be *enticed* into the inner waters, and that there should be employed expert divers to go down at night, and bore holes in their bottoms," while other parties were to come "stealthily upon them at night, and board them unawares, and massacre the whole of their crews." Above all, was to be made a grand preparation of fire-ships filled with various combustibles, which, with a favourable wind, were to be let loose upon them, and, in the confusion resulting from this attack, their war-vessels were to follow and complete what the fire-vessels had commenced. Great rewards were again offered for the taking or destruction of any of our ships, and 50,000 dollars was to be the recompence for a line-of-battle ship.

The evening after the capture of Chuenpee was spent in making preparations on both sides for renewing the contest on the morrow. Every one on board our ships was excited with the occurrences of the day, and anxiously longing for the dawn of morning, when the thunder of our artillery should make even the walls of Anunghoy and the famed Bogue forts tremble and fall. At length the sun rose, bright and full of promise, on the morning of the 8th. The boats of H.M.S. Sulphur were sent out to

take soundings higher up towards the Bogue. The Nemesis was first under weigh, and was directed to proceed at once up to Anunghoy with a couple of rocket-boats.

The morning was calm; the line-of-battle ships were slowly moving up to the positions assigned to them in front of the principal forts; already had the Nemesis taken up a position within capital range of the southern battery of Anunghoy, in such a manner that only three or four guns could be brought to bear on her from it. Already had she thrown in several shells and shot, when the signal for her recal was observed flying most provokingly from the mast-head of the Wellesley, and, being enforced by more than one signal-gun, the firing ceased. Just as the exciting moment had arrived, and every man was calculating in his own mind how soon the forts would be reduced, the stillness, not of breathless anxiety, but of bitter disappointment, prevailed in every man's bosom. It soon appeared that old Admiral Kwan preferred to try his skill in cunning and diplomacy rather than in war, and had sent off a small boat to the flag-ship, under a flag of truce with a note addressed to the plenipotentiary. The fact has excited some amusement, that a little boat, with an old woman and a man in it, was sent off to bear proposals for the cessation of hostilities at the very moment of their commencement; and that this humble paper, sent in this extraordinary way, was received, and became the groundwork of an armistice which was concluded in the course of the day.

Soon after four o'clock in the afternoon, the Nemesis was sent to convey Lieutenant Maitland, of the Wellesley, to Anunghoy, as bearer of a chop or official document, relating to the truce, and to a projected treaty of peace, the precise terms of which did not transpire. Many animadversions were made upon this proceeding; but Capt. Elliot was placed in very peculiar circumstances. He was, undoubtedly, desirous to avoid open rupture with the Chinese, if possible, and to use his best tact and judgment in negotiation, which would, of course, be of little avail unless backed by a strong force, ready to support his claims, and, therefore, necessarily assuming a threatening attitude. Above all, the value of the revenue to be derived from *tea* was so great, and its importance as an article of consumption so much thought of, that Elliot believed himself to be best serving his country when he best followed out, according to his judgment, these two principal objects.

Negotiations continued at the Bogue, but the Chinese, in spite of the truce, were observed to be increasing their defences, and notice was accordingly given to them to desist. The communications were frequent, and, on the 17th, just a week after the com-

mencement of the truce, Capt. Elliot went down in the Nemesis to Macao. There seemed, however, to prevail an impression that the affair was so far from being settled, that another collision could scarcely be avoided, and therefore no measure of precaution was omitted on our side.

On the 20th of January, a circular was issued by Capt. Elliot, dated at Macao, announcing that *preliminary* arrangements had been concluded, but reserving the details for future negotiation. Hong-Kong was to be ceded to us; an indemnity of six million dollars was to be paid by the Chinese in six equal annual instalments, one million being paid down at once, and the last in 1846; direct official intercourse was to be maintained upon terms of perfect equality, and trade was to be resumed within the port of Canton, within ten days. But it would also appear that an intimation had been made of an intention to remove the greater portion of the trade to Hong-Kong, for it was provided that it should only continue "to be carried on at Whampoa until further arrangements were practicable at the new settlement." Nothing could at first appear more satisfactory than this arrangement; but it gave ample time to the Chinese to make further preparations for defence, and abundant loopholes for the exercise of their crafty ingenuity. At the same time Capt. Elliot urged upon the consideration of his countrymen "the necessity of adopting a conciliatory treatment towards the people, and a becoming deference for the country upon the threshold of which we were about to be established."

On the following day, the 21st January, the Nemesis was sent to convey to Chuenpee two Mandarins, who were to receive back the forts from Captain Scott, of the Samarang, who had been appointed *pro tempore* governor of this fortress. The British colours were hauled down, and the Chinese dragon was hoisted in their place under a salute from the flag-ship; it was very evident that no salute had ever sounded so welcome to Chinese ears before. As soon as a few guns could be got ready for the purpose, the salute was returned by the Chinese. We had certainly shewn rather a chivalrous leniency to their government, in thus so suddenly restoring to them one of their principal strongholds. Indeed, everything looked extremely peaceable upon paper, and the Chinese contrived to create a temporary belief in the sincerity of their intentions.

Thus ended what may be called the second act, (the first having been the taking of Chusan, and the expedition to the Peiho) of the great drama of the Chinese war. In his report to the emperor, respecting these several occurrences, Keshen declared that "he had only made conditional concessions to the English;

merely promising that he would earnestly implore the emperor's favour in their behalf."

Immediately after the restoration of the forts on the 21st to the Chinese, the commodore went down to Macao in the Nemesis, leaving the Wellesley in the Lintao passage, the main body of the fleet having proceeded to Hong-Kong. It was feared, however, that things could not long remain in *statu quo*; and on the 26th, Capt. Elliot himself left Macao in the Nemesis, and went up the Canton river to hold a conference with Keshen in person, in order to settle those points which were reserved for future consideration.

CHAPTER XIII.

Adequate preparations, becoming the high rank of the respective parties, were made on both sides for the intended meeting. One hundred marines, picked men from the Wellesley, Druid, and Calliope, were embarked on board the Madagascar steamer, to be carried up as a guard of honour for Capt. Elliot; they were commanded by Captain, now Lieutenant-Colonel, Ellis, C.B., having with him Lieutenants Stransham and Maxwell. The excellent bands of the Wellesley and Calliope were also in attendance, and it was expected that the Chinese would be astonished and properly "impressed" by the appearance and manœuvres of the men, while they would be gratified and put into a good humour by the enlivening tones of the music.

On the 26th of January the Nemesis started from Macao, with Capt. Elliot and several officers on board, and proceeded directly up the Bogue. She was subsequently joined by the Madagascar, which was to accompany her up to the place of meeting. Capt. Herbert, the Hon. Capt. Dundas, and Capt. Maitland, attended the plenipotentiary. And now, for the first time, two steamers were to enter the true Canton river, and as the Nemesis was the leading vessel through the Bogue, she had, consequently, the honour of being the first steam vessel, whether of wood or iron, which ever navigated the "inner waters" of the Celestial Empire.

It was just at this time that the French corvette, Danaide, arrived in the China waters, having been sent out purposely to watch our movements in that quarter. This, indeed, could have been her only object, for, as regards protection of trade, the French have never had any trade with China worthy of the name, nor indeed had the French flag floated over the walls of the

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foreign factories at Canton for many years, until after the accession of Louis Philippe to the throne. Since that time it has always been exhibited rather in hope of the future than for the protection of present interests, for there has been, until recently, scarcely a French ship in China. As the declaration of blockade was still in force against the port of Canton, the Danaide was not permitted to proceed higher up than Chuenpee, but her commander, Capt. Rosamel, was politely invited by Capt. Elliot to accompany him on board the Nemesis, that he might be a witness of the coming interview; an act of courtesy which was handsomely acknowledged.

As the two steamers passed through the Bogue, each with a flag of truce at the fore, they were saluted with three guns (the greatest number ever given in China,) by the forts on both sides. The Chinese also manned the works, and hoisted numerous gay silken flags; and the effect of their curious costumes, and the general appearance of the forts of Anunghoy and Wantung, when their battlements were crowded with eager spectators, were very imposing. Certainly, the passage of two steamers between them, the first they had ever seen, must have been an exciting novelty. The bold, rocky steeps behind the batteries of Anunghoy, frowning, as it were, and really commanding the batteries below, grinning defiance with their whitened battlements; and the opposite island of Wantung, with its numerous works; the more distant shore of the mainland on the other side, and the remarkable Tiger Island ahead—all these formed a very interesting and remarkable spectacle.

Just at the foot of Tiger Island, about two miles above the Bogue, could be distinguished a long stone battery, which, on a nearer approach, appeared deserving of closer attention, although, from its position, it was not likely to be much use for the defence of the river. The Nemesis, accordingly, little fearing shallow water at any time, ran up towards it, and came so close to the battlements as to touch them with her yards; in which position, had her intentions been hostile, it was very evident that she could have battered the walls with her guns with perfect impunity, for the guns of the fort could not be depressed sufficiently to point at her hull in that position. This manœuvre thoroughly confounded the Chinese, who looked on in evident wonder. And they so far profited by the hint afterwards, that they abandoned the fort altogether, as useless and untenable, and carried away the guns to add to the strength of the Bogue forts lower down.

Beyond the Bogue and Tiger Island the river begins to expand again, and for some miles presents to view a flat, rich, alluvial

country, in which are an immense number of canals and water-courses, serving to irrigate the paddy or rice fields, and to afford immmerable lines of internal communication, which in that country mostly takes the place of roads and bridges.*

It was precisely at the pagoda at the Second Bar, as it is called, that the conference was now to be held; and there, at about six o'clock in the evening, the Nemesis and Madagascar came to anchor. A couple of mandarins, or officers of inferior grade, (for let it not be supposed that a mandarin is necessarily a great man) came on board, deputed by Keshen to welcome the arrival of the plenipo. A list of the names and rank of those officers who were to be present at the interview on the following morning, was sent in to Keshen, in English and Chinese, so that he might be quite prepared, when each gentleman should be presented to him by Capt. Elliot, to receive him courteously.

Early in the morning the guard of marines were landed, together with the bands of the Wellesley and Calliope. A finer body of men is rarely seen. Soon after 9 o'clock, the whole of the officers were ready to go on shore, which was accomplished partly in the boats of the two steamers, partly in very clean and convenient Chinese boats provided by Keshen. They had to pull some little distance up one of the numerous creeks which open into all the Chinese rivers, and the scene as they approached was very novel and interesting. On either side were several very gaudily ornamented boats belonging to Keshen, very similar to the boats of the Hong merchants at Canton, who had also arrived under the guidance of old Howqua.† They could scarcely hope

* In no part of China are there found within the same distance so many large pagodas or religious monuments as upon the banks of this fine river. This is not the place to describe them minutely, or to discuss their purpose. They are found in most of the large towns, and sometimes on the banks of rivers, and form a part of the religious buildings of the Budhist superstition, and together with it, seem to have been originally introduced from the west. The shape of them is familiar to most readers. The finest and most celebrated one of the kind is the famous Porcelain Tower of Nankin; which is in reality a pagoda, larger and more ornamented than the rest, and distinguished by being principally constructed of porcelain brick, glazed, and of various shades of colour. These towers, or pagodas, are of great use in the navigation of the Canton river, as, from their height, they are conspicuous objects at a distance, and are generally placed in advantageous positions.

† The Hong merchants' boats are both large and convenient, somewhat resembling a small room or van, placed upon a very sharp-pointed but broad boat, as they are only used for pulling about the smooth waters of the river. Nothing can be better adapted for comfort, affording shelter both from the sun and rain, with plenty of room for at least half-a-dozen people to sit down and converse. The outside of these boats is showily painted, and commonly

to enjoy the honour of a place at the conference, and were, therefore, probably ordered by Keshen to attend upon him. They were not admitted even into the same tents with Capt. Elliot and his suite.

The guard of marines drawn up on either side highly astonished the Chinese, but the people were kept from pressing too close by a long line of railing put up for the occasion. The road from the immediate landing-place to the grand tent was spread over with various coloured cotton coverings, and decorated with branches of trees. At 9 A.M., Capt. Elliot, accompanied by Capt. Herbert, the Hon. Capt. Dundas, and Capt. Hall, landed, and went up in state, preceded by the bands, to the principal tent, which was very like a large, long booth, ornamented inside with yellow hangings, in token of its belonging to the representative of the emperor. At the further extremity of it was another tent or apartment, reserved more especially for Keshen's private use, and into this only Capt. Elliot and one or two officers in personal attendance on him were admitted. The whole party were presented to Keshen in the outer tent, including Capt. Rosamel of the Danaide; the list sent in the previous evening being referred to, as each gentleman of the party made his bow to the Imperial Commissioner. The first private audience in the inner tent between Capt. Elliot and Keshen was merely one of ceremony, and lasted only a few minutes; the medium of communication being through Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, the gifted son of the late Dr. Morrison, so celebrated as a Chinese scholar and philologist.

After the first introduction was over, it was announced that a grand *déjeûner à la fourchette* was prepared in the outer tent for the whole of the party, upwards of 20 in number. Interminable was the succession of dishes of the rarest and most expensive kind, according to the best Chinese principles of gastronomy. The luxury of the shark's-fin and the bird's-nest soups were here tasted for the first time, and, without going deeply into the mysteries of the Chinese "cuisine," it will be sufficient to say that a Chinese feast is a very sumptuous and tedious, but, withal, not unpalatable affair. It necessarily occupied considerable time, and it was not until two o'clock that those officers not in personal attendance upon Capt. Elliot were able to return on board the steamers.

decorated with handsome woodwork. The inside is generally elegantly fitted up. They are usually pulled by four men forward, who use a short-bladed oar or paddle, with great dexterity and effect; and they are also assisted as well as steered by a large heavy scull-oar behind.

In the interim, Keshen could not resist the wish to gratify his curiosity concerning our fine-looking fellows the marines, and three of the tallest and finest men were selected for his personal examination. He did not conceal his surprise, and even requested that they might be made to go through some of their evolutions. Keshen also examined their arms and accoutrements minutely. He had himself a small body-guard of Chinese soldiers, tolerably well dressed, but otherwise of poor appearance, compared with our own picked men, and they seemed quite at a loss to comprehend the purpose of the movements they witnessed.

There were a good many small tents pitched round about the principal reception-tent, and, as each of these was ornamented with a gay flag, and other decorations, the *coup d'œil* of the whole scene was sufficiently imposing.

Keshen's manner throughout is described as having been particularly kind, gentlemanlike, and perfectly dignified. He might, indeed, be called a courtier-like gentleman in any country. Capt. Elliot returned on board the Nemesis in the afternoon, apparently satisfied; and in the evening a display of rockets and fireworks took place from the vessel, for the amusement of the imperial commissioner on shore.

In the mean time the Madagascar returned down the river with the marines. On the following day, the 28th, two superior mandarins came on board to pay their respects, and were saluted with three guns; and, later in the day, the whole body of the Hong merchants came on board to pay their respects to his excellency.

Thus ended the whole business of this famous conference. Before they parted, Keshen made a few presents to Capt. Elliot, but not of any very great value, and others to Capt. Herbert, which were divided among some of the officers. Soon after 3 o'clock, the steam was once more got up, and, giving and receiving a parting salute of three guns, the Nemesis turned her head again down the river, having the Louisa cutter in tow. The forts at the Bogue again saluted her as she passed; and, late in the evening, she came to anchor in the Tong Koo Roads, until daylight enabled her to proceed to join the commodore, who was then in Hong-Kong harbour.

As yet the treaty, in virtue of which we took possession of Hong-Kong, had not received the emperor's assent; and our own precipitate restoration of Chusan, which had been ordered by Capt. Elliot, was likely rather to impede than to promote the object it was intended to effect. The mere word of Keshen was the only authority which we had to rely upon, and its ratification

was at least doubtful. However, both the commodore and Capt. Elliot seemed already to regard the island of Hong-Kong as a positive acquisition, and took the present opportunity of steaming all round it on board the Nemesis.

Little good appears to have resulted from this first interview. Indeed, shortly after his report of it to the emperor, Keshen received a severe reprimand from the emperor for what he had already even *pretended to promise*. He was told that "a mere glance at his memorials had filled the emperor with indignation."

Yihshan, a Tartar general of great repute, was now sent down to Canton, invested with the office of "general pacificator of the rebellious;" and two assistant functionaries, called Lungwan and Yang Fang, were ordered to repair thither, "to co-operate in the work of extermination." Additional troops were also despatched. These orders of the emperor were issued on the 30th of January, but did not reach Keshen until the 10th or 11th of February. On our side nothing important took place for several days; arrangements connected with the establishment of Hong-Kong were continued; and there was a constant passing to and fro of officers between that place and Macao, for which purpose the Nemesis was always employed.

The 2nd of February was the day on which it had been agreed with Keshen that the trade of the port of Canton should be opened—namely, 10 days after the Chinese new year. No proclamation to that effect, however, was issued by the commissioner. Various rumours were already afloat concerning the measures in progress up the river for obstructing its navigation. Captain Elliot determined to go up to the Bocca Tigris in person, and demand a distinct explanation from Keshen of his real intentions. On the 10th of February, he embarked on board the Nemesis, accompanied by Captain Smith and Captain Knowles, of the artillery, together with Major Pratt, of the Cameronians, and Mr. Morrison as interpreter, and was conveyed up the river, anchoring for the night in Anson's Bay.

On the following morning they once more passed through the Bogue, the battlements of which were manned by the Chinese, as the steamer passed; and a salute of three guns was fired from each of the batteries, which was of course returned by the Nemesis. So far everything looked pacific and complimentary enough. Having passed completely through the Bogue, she came to anchor, about 10 o'clock, above the forts, a little to the north of Anunghoy, and close to the boats of the imperial commissioner, who was already there. This was on the 11th of February; and it is a curious coincidence, that it was on this day that Keshen

received the imperial commands to resume vigorous measures against Captain Elliot and all the foreigners.

The interview on this occasion was one of comparatively little ceremony; indeed, Keshen had made no preparation for it on shore, and received Captain Elliot in his own covered barge, unattended by any mandarins of rank, and without any display or attempt at effect. Captain Elliot, on his part, having merely introduced the officers who came up with him from Macao, in order that they might make their bow of respect to the emperor's representative, immediately proceeded to business without loss of time, in the most private manner possible. During the few minutes that his suite were present, however, it did not escape their notice that some mighty change had already come over the spirit of the great commissioner. There was an appearance of constraint about him, as if his mind was downcast, and his heart burdened and heavily laden. He never indeed for a moment lost his self-possession, or that dignified courtesy of manner which no people can better assume than the Chinese of rank; but there was still something undefinable in his bearing, which impressed upon all present the conviction that something untoward had happened. Some of the party even guessed that he had been degraded from his high rank, which was, in fact, the case. Enough, at all events, was visible upon the surface, to awaken Captain Elliot to the necessity of extreme tact and caution, before he placed any reliance upon Keshen's *power*, whatever may have been his *will*, to act up to his promises. The conference on this day lasted no less than six hours, and was renewed on the following morning for about three hours more.

The formal drawing out of the definitive treaty was hastened, in order that every excuse for further delay on the part of Keshen might be removed. Indeed, ten days had been fixed as the *longest* period, within which, if the treaty were not executed, hostilities would be renewed. Nevertheless, before even the draught of the proposed treaty had been completed at Macao, rumours were continually brought concerning the extensive preparations for defence which were still going on up the river. Some naval and military officers were accordingly sent up to the Bogue, to ascertain how far these rumours might be well founded; and it was now discovered "that military works upon a great scale were in progress, that troops were collected upon the heights, that entrenched camps were forming on both sides of the river, and that the island of North Wantung was bristling with cannon." It could no longer be doubted that hostilities would be speedily resumed; and although the orders of the emperor to Keshen to cancel the treaty agreed on, and to provide means for the immediate

extermination of the foreigners had not then been made public, enough was already known to render it evident that the intentions of the government were far from being of a peaceful nature.

On his side, Capt. Elliot had done his utmost to impress the Chinese with confidence in his "good faith;" and so anxious was he to hasten the evacuation of Chusan, that he had not only sent up a vessel of war to convey the necessary orders, but had also forwarded an *overland despatch*, by a Chinese special messenger, to the same purport.

Scarcely a month, however, had elapsed, when Captain Elliot began to doubt whether the Chinese really meant to act up to *their* promises with equal good faith. On the 20th of January he had declared, in a public proclamation, that he had no reason to call in question "the scrupulous sincerity and *enlarged opinions* of the very eminent person with whom negotiations had been pending;" and it was just a month afterwards, on the 20th of February, that he declared that the "imperial minister and high commissioner had failed to conclude the treaty which had been sent up to the Bogue ready prepared for signature." This document was carried up by the Nemesis; but as the commissioner had already left the Bogue and gone to Canton, it was transmitted to him by the hands of a confidential person in his employment, who had been distinctly named to Capt. Elliot for the purpose. Four days were allowed for the return of the messenger, and the Nemesis was directed to wait at the Bogue for the answer, until the expiration of that period, when she was to return to Macao, either with or without the treaty.

As the time agreed on approached its expiration, reports became more numerous than ever concerning the hostile preparations in progress. The edict of the Emperor addressed to Keshen, before spoken of, was now made public, and a proclamation was pasted on the walls of Canton, (but whether by the orders of the viceroy or not is uncertain,) by which a reward of 50,000 dollars each was offered for the heads of Capt. Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer!

The four days of the stay of the Nemesis at the Bogue were not spent unprofitably. Advantage was taken by Capt. Hall of this opportunity to examine the new works of the Chinese, many of which were still in progress, (during a *truce* and while a treaty of peace had been agreed on!) Numerous sand-bag batteries had been erected, and others were in course of completion half way up the hill of Anunghoy. Troops were crowding upon the hills on the opposite side, while upon the island of North Wantung equal activity was displayed. But the observations were not limited to the works at the Bogue. Capt. Hall set out with

a single boat's crew upon an adventurous and interesting excursion up Anson's Bay, to the mouth of the river in which the junks had been destroyed on the day of the Chuenpee. Just within the entrance, several large mandarin boats were observed collected together, and surrounded by a vast number of labouring men. This excited some surprise, as there were no works visible upon which they could be employed; but the object of this bustle was unexpectedly discovered afterwards. The mandarin boats and a great part of the people, thinking probably that the single boat of the Nemesis was only the advanced one of many others similar to those which had destroyed their war-junks, made off as fast as they could, leaving her to pursue her course unmolested.

Having, in the former ascent of the river in the Nemesis, observed that a branch of it turned off to the right towards Chuenpee, Captain Hall determined to explore it now. It branched off about one and a half or two miles from the entrance, and soon led to a very considerable village on the right or Chuenpee side (in ascending), while nearly opposite to it, a large sand-battery, recently erected, was discovered, mounting eight guns, and further on, was a strong stone battery. Neither of these fired at the boat, although the gunners ran down to their guns, as if apprehensive of an attack. To the astonishment of all in the boat, it was now found that this branch of the river, or creek, or whatever it might be called, instead of leading further up the country, inland, gradually turned round and encircled the whole of Chuenpee, communicating with the "outer waters" to the southward of that promontory. Thus it was evident that Chuenpee was an island. Having passed quite through the channel, so as to reach the point of junction with the "outer waters," Captain Hall landed on Chuenpee, in company with Mr. Turner, the surgeon of the vessel, and Mr. Gray, a midshipman of H.M.S. Herald, and sending, the boat round the promontory to the opposite side, walked across without any molestation. Nothing worth noticing was observed in this excursion, except the large farm-houses which were passed, together with several extensive sugar-works in full operation.

A visit made to the Tycocktow side of the river was less promising, although equally successful. It was thought desirable, on the following day, to reconnoitre the defences in that direction; and accordingly Captain Hall, accompanied by Mr. Compton, proceeded in the ship's cutter across the river for that purpose. A large number of troops were collected upon the heights, upon which were numerous tents; and several large transport junks, not less than twenty shil, were hastily landing toops, guns, and

ammunition. It was also noticed that boats were passing round at the back of the hill and works, through a large canal or creek; so that, although it was not possible to explore the lines in communication from one part to the other, it became very evident that the neighbourhood of the river, although apparently mountainous and rugged, was accessible to boats on all sides, and was in fact composed of distinct islands.

The question of the intentions of the Chinese was soon decided; for the fort on Wantung, as the boat passed between it and the mainland on that side, fired at it with round shot. There was no mistaking the tone of defiance which this indicated; but Captain Hall was sufficiently acquainted with the Chinese character to be reluctant to turn back at this threat, because the affair would have been reported, with their usual exaggeration, as a great victory. The little bow-gun of the boat was therefore instantly fired at the troops who were looking over the battlements of the fort, and, no further molestation being attempted by the Chinese, she again pursued her way, content with this token of defiance. These little reconnoitring excursions sufficed to shew, were anything still wanting to bring conviction to the most unbelieving, that the Chinese were fully aware that no treaty of peace was likely to be signed, and that they looked forward to the resumption of hostilities, not only without much apprehension, but with tolerable confidence of their own success.

On the evening of the 18th, the four days agreed on for the return of the messenger from Canton having fully expired, the Nemesis was moved up from Chuenpee to the Bogue, where she remained one hour, waiting for an answer from the imperial commissioner. None, however, was brought; and, as everything now so plainly indicated that cannon balls alone were to be expected as a reply, Captain Hall resolved to return to Macao, and not a moment was lost in communicating the results of the reconnoitring excursions, the firing of a shot from North Wantung, and the non-appearance of the messenger at the appointed time.

The most incredulous now no longer doubted; and orders were given that all the officers should join their respective ships. The light division, which was then in the roads of Macao, or at the mouth of the river, was placed under the orders of Captain Herbert (since made K.C.B.) of the Calliope, and was directed to proceed immediately to the Bogue. It consisted of the Calliope, Samarang, Herald, Alligator, Sulphur, and the Nemesis; and the object was "to prevent, as much as possible, any further defensive preparations on the part of the enemy, but not to run any unnecessary hazard until the main body of the force came

up." At the same time, the commodore hastened over to Hong Kong, in the Madagascar steamer, for the purpose of taking up the ships of the line, consisting of the Wellesley, Blenheim, and Melville, seventy-fours, and the steamers, Queen and Madagascar: leaving the Druid, with the Jupiter troop-ship, and the transports Sophia, Minerva, Thetis, and Eagle, to follow.

These active measures were briefly announced by Captain Elliot, in a circular issued on the same day, simply stating that "circumstances had induced the commander-in-chief to announce to H.M. plenipotentiary his intention to move the forces towards the Bocca Tigris,"—from which it would seem that the responsibility of this inevitable measure was rather assumed by Sir Gordon Bremer than by the plenipotentiary: but Captain Elliot had also written to Captain Herbert, stating that he left him at liberty, and *moved* to prevent the continuance of defensive preparations at the Bogue.

It was on the day following this movement (the 20th) that Keshen's notification of his unwillingness to continue negotiations became known at Macao; and shortly afterwards the emperor's edict (before alluded to) was also promulgated, in which every proposed measure of conciliation towards the foreigners was recalled, and orders given, on the other hand, that "they should be rooted out entirely."

On the morning of the 21st, a reconnoitring party landed, unperceived, upon the island of Wantung, consisting of Captains Elliot, Herbert, and Belcher, and Lieutenant Stransham, and they were enabled to count seventeen more guns, newly mounted, in addition to those which had been observed on the former occasion.

The truce had already fully expired, but hostilities did not commence immediately, as might have been expected. On the 22nd, a Chinese boat happened to be stopped, in which was found a messenger, who was recognised by Lieutenant Watson as an active agent of the Chinese authorities. It was naturally suspected that he was the bearer of orders of some kind or other to the local officers, and such was found to be the case. They were addressed to Admiral Kwan, desiring him to hurry on the stopping-up of the channel which runs at the back of Anunghoy, by which the latter becomes an island. The means employed were stones and stakes, and sunken junks, which had been collected in large quantities at a place called Sanmannkow, which must have been the large town known to lie in the rear of Anunghoy. Thus all our observations respecting the intentions of the authorities were fully confirmed, and it could no longer be doubted on our part, that a heavy blow must at once be struck.

CHAPTER XIV.

Keshen, who had spent all his life either in large provincial capitals or in the imperial city itself, could have had little opportunity of learning anything either relating to foreign trade or foreign ships, still less was he acquainted with the "outer waters" along the coast of the empire. After describing them to his imperial master, he boldly ventures his opinion, that the reputation of the fortifications of the Bocca Tigris, as a place of defence, have been much overrated, and he goes on to say—"It is, then, clear that we have no defences worthy to be called such. It is, in truth, the local character of the country, that there is no important point of defence by which the whole may be maintained." No wonder that such a declaration from a man who was also the third member of the imperial cabinet, taken as it was, from personal observation, should have sounded unpleasant and even traitorous to the emperor's ear. But this was not all. Indeed, one might almost imagine that some European must have pointed out to him defects which his own unpractised and unaided eye could never have detected.

Lin, on the other hand, had never dared to report to his master the full extent of the information which was given to him, though he was fully prepared to adopt every device which tended to obstruct the commerce of England, and impede an amicable settlement of the difficulties. Such truths are always hard to bear, and harder to believe, and were consequently *not* believed, *because* they were true. But Keshen did his best to improve his weapons; he sent for a founder of canon, who gave him a new model, and undertook to make some experimental pieces. Yet it did not escape Keshen, that, even if he succeeded in casting good cannon, he could only do so as a preparation *for the future*. "They could not be ready," says he, "for the business we have now in hand. These are the proofs," he adds, "of the inefficiency of our military armament, which is such *that no reliance can be placed upon it*."

He proceeded to say that it would be necessary to employ a naval as well as a land force to defend the Bogue, but then threw out a suspicion that the seamen were not to be depended on, for "he had heard a report that, after the battle of Chuenpee, these men all went to their commander, or Tetuh, and demanded money of him, threatening that they would otherwise disperse; and he had, therefore, personally made inquiry into the matter, and found that the report was perfectly true, and, moreover, that the Tetuh, having no other remedy, (evidently the pay was in arrear,)

was obliged to *pawn his own clothes and other things*, by which means he was enabled to give each of them a bonus of two dollars, and thus only could he get them to remain for a time at their posts."* Moreover, he added, "our ships of war are not large and strong, and it is difficult to mount heavy guns upon them. Hence it is evident that our force here, (he was writing at the Bogue,) as a guard and defence against the foreigners, is insufficient."

Keshen next remarked upon the character of the *people* of the province. "Your slave has found them ungrateful and avaricious. Of those who are actual traitors it is unnecessary to say anything. But the rest are accustomed to see the foreigners day by day, and intimacy has grown up between them." And he proceeds to contrast them very favourably with the people of Chusan, "who felt at once that the foreigners were of *another race*."†

Keshen then appealed to the history of the past, and made particular allusion to the difficulty which had formerly been experienced, in overcoming even the pirates upon the coast, who were at length only reduced to submission by a promise of security upon condition of laying down their arms.‡ Finally he expressed great fear, that if he gave battle, he should be unable to command a victory, and, in that case, the dignity of the empire would be sullied, and the lives of the people sacrificed.

To understand the full importance of these remarks, it is necessary to bear in mind that they were written before the action of the Bogue took place, and as a ground for asking for the emperor's consent to the terms proposed by Captain Elliot. Others, however, were called to aid in his councils at this time, and, among the high officers of Canton, Lin himself was consulted. They appeared to concur with Keshen; at all events, they knew that upon his head would rest all the responsibility.

The memorial containing Captain Elliot's demands was sent up to Pekin, together with this report, which was founded upon personal observation; and Keshen implored the emperor to look with pity upon "his black-haired flock, the people, and that he would be graciously pleased to accede to the requests made by

* This was, on more than one occasion, the case during the war. Soldiers were often found among the killed and wounded each having two dollars on their persons, and, on one occasion, even six dollars.

† This, probably alludes to the maxim of the Chinese moral code, which says that it should be remembered that a "foreigner, though he be a *good man*, and on terms of intimacy with you, is still *of a different race*."

‡ This alludes to the famous pirate Kochinga, who was bought off and made an admiral.

the foreigners, and to grant them favours beyond measure. "Thus," he added "shall we lay the foundation for victory hereafter, by binding and curbing the foreigners now, while we *prepare* the means of cutting them off at some future period."

On the following morning at dawn, the Nemesis took Captain Elliot once more up to the Bogue, where he remained about an hour, as if in anxious expectation of some communication from the shore. But this last lingering hope was again disappointed. Captain Elliot, being now fully satisfied that no peaceable communication from the Chinese was to be expected, finally left the Bogue, and finding H.M.S. Herald at anchor off Lankeet, just below Chuenpee, he went on board that vessel, leaving the Nemesis to pursue her way down to Hong-Kong.

On the 22nd, Captain Herbert, with the light squadron, took up his position at the anchorage off South Wantung, where Captain Elliot announced to him that Keshen had failed to conclude the treaty, and that he was therefore to consider himself *moved*, to prevent the continuance of the defensive preparations. The Nemesis having joined him from Hong-Kong on the 23rd, Captain Herbert embarked on board that vessel, and, taking with him the pinnaces of the Calliope, Samarang, Herald, and Alligator, commanded by Lieutenants Watson, Bowers, Dewes, and Woolcomb, proceeded up Anson's Bay to explore the river before described as opening at the bottom of it.

On entering the river, it was no longer to be doubted that preparations for defence had been commenced. A great number of boats were observed busily employed in driving stakes or piles into the bed of the river, across which others were trying to moor a strong raft. No sooner was the steamer discovered approaching, than the boats all pulled away, and the Chinese were seen scampering off as fast as possible. However, when it came to the point of pulling up the stakes, in order to make a passage between them for the boats which were in tow, all on a sudden a heavy discharge from a masked battery, close abreast of the spot, was poured upon them, and at once betrayed the cause of the secret preparations before observed.

The steamer immediately poured in a volley of grape and canister from her bow and stern guns, while the boats pulled away towards the shore, to carry the works by storm, opening their fire from their bow-guns as they advanced. The Chinese fled, after some resistance, and the battery, which was of very recent construction, was at once taken possession of by the crews of the boats, the colours being taken by Lieutenant Bowers. It was found to mount 20 guns of various calibre, which were immediately destroyed. There were also lying on the ground a

vast number of guns dismounted, probably not less than 60, which appeared to have been landed out of their junks, or recovered after the destruction of their fleet in the bay. These were all rendered useless, with the exception of a few brass ones, which were carried away as trophies. Their magazines and buildings were also totally destroyed. The number of killed among the Chinese were about 30, but no wounded were found, as they had probably been carried off by their comrades. On our side no casualties happened.

Content, for the present, with this successful feat, Captain Herbert returned in the Nemesis, and rejoined the squadron, at its anchorage, a little to the southward of South Wantung. On the following morning they all returned to the scene of the previous exploit, and set about pulling up the piles, to clear a passage. This time, likewise, they were fired at, but from a different quarter. The Chinese troops posted on the hills above, commenced firing at the working party, but it was soon returned from the 32-pounders, by which they were speedily dispersed. A passage having at length been cleared, the Nemesis steamed up the river for some distance, until she had nearly reached the large town at the back of Anunghoy; but, as there appeared to be no further hostile preparations going on, Captain Herbert thought it better to return and complete the destruction of the fort, raft, &c. which had been only partially done the day before; after which they returned to the squadron, which the commodore himself had now joined, with the three line-of-battle ships and the Druid.

The next day, the 25th of February, was the great day of preparation for the combined and resolute attack of all the Bogue forts. The batteries which were to be reduced were as follows:—Beginning from the south end of the promontory of Anunghoy, which of course you approach first, there were several strong works along the shore, the ridges on the hill side above being also armed with guns wherever they could be conveniently placed; and upon the top, which was pretty steep, an entrenched camp had been formed, calculated for about 1,200 men. On this side were two considerable sand batteries, not long erected, mounting, as was afterwards found, 30 guns of small calibre.

Proceeding along the front was the old battery of Anunghoy, which, in a manner, seemed to have given place to a new and extremely well built one, partly of granite and partly of chunam, and reaching down almost to high-water mark. The rear of this battery, running up the steep hill-side, was enclosed by a high wall, on which were steps or platforms for firing musketry. Continuing our survey of the walls parallel with the passage

through the Bogue, and passing out of the southern fort by its northern gate, we found a line of steep rocky beach, about two to three hundred yards long, and unprotected, which led to the northern Anunghoy fort. Upon this beach was erected a sort of platform, made of wood, serving merely as a line of communication between the forts, for the passage of troops. Having traversed this causeway, we arrived at the northern fort. This was a less formidable one than its fellow lower down, but still it presented an extensive line of works. The whole together completely defended the river front of the promontory of Anunghoy. The number of guns mounted upon all these works was afterwards found to be very great, and the long line of embrasures certainly looked extremely formidable.

The island of North Wantung, which is opposite to these forts was thickly studded with cannon all over. Its eastern side presented a formidable line of guns, and was considered by the Chinese to be its most important side of defence, for it fronted Anunghoy, commanding the passage between them: here they had planted some of their largest guns. A defence upon which they had placed great reliance was the large chain cable which they had carried across the passage from Anunghoy to a rock close to Wantung, and secured into the solid rock on either side, something after the manner of the chains of a suspension bridge. The rafts which supported it were strongly moored, and the Chinese had adopted a curious contrivance for raising or lowering the chain, for the purpose of letting their junks pass through, by means of a kind of windlass.

A passage was not forced through this chain and rafts until after the forts were taken; and the Chinese appeared to forget that there was another channel round the west side of Wantung, and that even had that been impassable, we could have sent our light steamers, rocket-boats, and gun-boats, round the back of Anunghoy itself. They, moreover, made little calculation of the great power of the rising and falling of the tide, the weight and strength of a line-of-battle ship, or the terrific power of her broadside.

The little island of South Wantung had been unaccountably left unoccupied by the Chinese; but, in reality, it was within range, and well commanded by the strong batteries and Hill Fort upon North Wantung. The oversight rendered their positions much less tenable, and soon decided the plan of attack which was adopted by Sir Gordon Bremer. It was as follows:—a battery of two 8-inch iron and one 24-pounder brass howitzers was to be erected during the night, in a hollow, upon the top of this little island of South Wantung, which was very favourably

situated for the object required. This battery would not only greatly annoy the Chinese in the northern island, and probably shell them out, but also distract their attention from the attack upon Anunghoy.

The commodore reserved to himself (with the Wellesley, 74, and Druid, 42,) the attack on the south-west batteries of Wantung, that is, on the side not fronting Anunghoy; while Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, in the Blenheim, 74, with the Melville, 74, and the Queen steamer, together with the rocket-boats of the two ships was to attack the batteries of Anunghoy, using his own discretion as to the best mode of placing them for that purpose. The light division, under Captain Herbert, consisting of the Calliope, Samarang, Herald, Alligator, Sulphur, and Modeste, were to direct their attention to the batteries on the northern and north-western side of Wantung, and also those facing Anunghoy, and either to anchor or keep under weigh, according as it might appear most likely to ensure the object in view. The Madagascar and Nemesis steamers were to land the troops, but the latter was more particularly employed to cover the working party, who were to raise a battery on South Wantung, and also the troops on shore.

It was not likely that the land forces would have much to do; but it was directed that detachments of the 26th and 49th regiments, with the 37th M.N.I. and Bengal Volunteers, under the command of Major Pratt, of the 26th, should be placed on board the steamers and the transport-boats, together with a few Chinese boats collected for the purpose, and they were to remain off the southern end of South Wantung, protected from the fire of the enemy's guns, until the Chinese should be driven out of the batteries, when their subsequent movements were to be directed by signal. The royal marines, also, under Captain Ellis, were to be held in readiness to land with the troops, and were to be accompanied by the two 6-pounder field-pieces of the Wellesley and Druid, with seamen to work and drag them; scaling-ladders were also to be carried with the force.

Soon after mid-day, on the 25th, the Nemesis took on board a detachment of 130 of the Madras Native Infantry, for the purpose of assisting the royal artillery, under Captain Knowles and Lieutenant Spencer, in the erection of the mortar battery upon the top of South Wantung; and they were accompanied by Lieutenant Johnson and Lieutenant Rundall, of the Madras Engineers, with the same object. On her way across, the guns of the large Anunghoy Fort opened upon her, and were fired with tolerable precision, many of the shot passing quite near her, but fortunately without doing any damage. On arriving at the

southern end of South Wantung, it was found that Sir Le Fleming Senhouse had already arrived in his own boat, together with a detachment of the Royal and Madras Artillery. The Anunghoy Battery continued firing, but without effect, and it was not returned for some time, by the orders of the commodore. However, as soon as the detachments were landed, Sir Le Fleming Senhouse himself gave Captain Hall permission to return the fire. No time was lost in landing ammunition and warlike implements upon the island, and parties were busily employed filling sand-bags preparatory to the erection of the battery above, the whole working party being perfectly protected from the fire of the Chinese.

In the meantime, the batteries on North Wantung began to open on the Nemesis; and, in order that she might get completely under cover of the island of South Wantung, Captain Hall ran her full in upon the shore, which was somewhat steep in that part: and thus she lay literally with her head out of water, and her stern deep in it, without receiving any injury; her light draught of water enabled her to approach closer than any other vessel could have done. In this manner, all the shot of the batteries passed over her, without doing her any mischief. The fire was not returned, both owing to the position in which she was, and because it could only have served to point out, in the darkness of the night, the situation of the working parties upon the island.

At daylight the battery was quite completed, and the Nemesis was ordered to withdraw; not long after which, the new battery opened fire in beautiful style against North Wantung, under the direction of Captain Knowles. The rockets were thrown into it with great effect, and, together with the shells, could be seen to fall directly within the forts; this was shortly followed by a blaze of fire from the burning of the Custom House and other buildings; soon after which, the outworks and sand-batteries were abandoned, and the Chinese took refuge principally in the upper fort. Their loss must have been considerable at all points; and the panic created by the bursting of the shells and rockets, which were quite new to them, evidently thew them into great disorder. It was reported, and there is reason to believe with truth, that the Chinese officers abandoned the place at the commencement of the firing, and ran down to their boats, having locked the gates behind them, to prevent their own troops from following their example.

The grand combined attack was to have commenced early in the morning, and the troops were ordered to be in readiness at seven o'clock. The morning, however, was perfectly calm; the sun shone brilliantly, and lighted up the scene of impending

destruction and slaughter, as if it were to be a scene of rejoicing. Until 10 o'clock there was not a breath of air; when, a light breeze springing up, the Melville and Blenheim, accompanied by the Queen steamer, got under weigh, attended by three rocket-boats, and the Blenheim being the leading ship. They stood in for the southern Anunghoy fort, running along towards the Anson's Bay side of it, in order to be out of range of its guns in front, so that they could throw in shot and shell upon its flank, without any risk of receiving injury themselves. The hill of Anunghoy was crowned with Chinese troops, their numerous silken banners floating gaily to the now reviving breeze. Some of their guns were discharged at a great distance; but the fire was kept up with spirit, though frequently out of range.

Not so, however, our own majestic ships, which slowly glided up to their positions without wasting a single shot, until, having anchored with springs on their cables, they could bring their broadsides to bear. The Blenheim, although the leading ship, was either carried by the tide, or else slightly touched the ground, and was soon overtaken by the Melville, which succeeded in taking up a more advantageous position in very gallant style. In the mean time, the Queen had commenced throwing shell into the sand-batteries and other works upon the hill side; and, at the same time, the terrific broadsides of the Melville and the Blenheim opened upon the great battery; the rocket-boats also did their full share in the work of destruction. The Chinese could not long withstand these simultaneous attacks.*

About the same time with the attack on Anunghoy, began also that upon the batteries on the western and north-western side of Wantung, partly under the commodore in person, and partly under Captain Herbert. The ships† waited to receive the fire of the forts pretty close, and then at once poured in their iron shower upon the devoted batteries, with destructive effect. It would have been impossible for any troops to have long defended the island of Wantung, bristling though it then was with cannon, against the powerful force arrayed against it. Our battery of

* During the heat of the action against the batteries of Anunghoy, a very dashing thing was done by Commander Sullivan, who was serving as a supernumerary on board the Melville. One of the boats got adrift, owing to some accident, and the tide was carrying it close in under the batteries. The instant this was perceived by Commander Sullivan, he jumped into his gig, and pulled off to recover the boat, in doing which he was of course exposed to the close fire of the batteries, but he fortunately escaped unhurt, and brought the boat safely back. This little spirited incident was not taken public notice of.

† Consisting of the Wellesley and Druid, with the Calliope, Samarang, Herald, Alligator, Modeste, and Sulphur.

howitzers had been playing upon it for several hours; and now six or seven men-of-war, including one line-of-battle ship, the Wellesley, were battering it at the same time. But the defenders could not run away, being shut in on every side by the river; and it was perhaps fortunate for them that the Nemesis, which had already been engaged with the different batteries, was sent down to fetch the troop-boats from the southern island, under which they had been sheltered.

The land force was under the command of Major Pratt, of the Cameronians, who was already well known to the Chinese at Chuenpee. The detachments of the 26th and 49th were under Major Johnson, the marines under Capt. Ellis, the 37th M. N. I. under Capt. Duff, and the Bengal Volunteers under Capt. Mee.

The scene on all sides at this moment was extremely imposing. The light breeze, which had barely served to bring the ships into position, had quite died away when the thunder of artillery commenced, as if it were unwilling to take them back again until their work was fully done. The heavy, curling smoke, scarcely broken by an occasional flash, hung gloomily on every side, as if to veil from sight the scene of destruction which was going on. For a time the firing ceased, in order to allow the smoke to rise; and, just at that moment, the troops were hastening towards Wantung, to take possession of the works, the firing of which had also ceased. At the same time, Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, with the marines and a party of blue-jackets, landed, to the attack of Anunghoy.

At half-past one the troops were landed on Wantung by the Nemesis and Madagascar, assisted by boats. The object was of course to reach the hill fort as quickly as possible, and had the Chinese been better acquainted with the rules of European warfare, they would probably have at once surrendered themselves, seeing the utter hopelessness of resistance. Probably the fear of being put to death as prisoners prevented this timely sparing of blood. Our gallant troops and seamen pushed rapidly up the ascent over the ruined outworks, and might have suffered severe loss before they could have taken possession of the upper fort, had not the Chinese been almost panic-struck, or had they possessed weapons better calculated for the purpose of defence. But, instead of surrendering or accepting quarter, they again ran out of the fort and down the hill, and many of the poor fellows were shot in their vain attempts to fly, without any possible means of escape. The greater part of these took refuge in the lower Custom-House fort, where many of them were killed and wounded before the rest surrendered, which, however, they at length did, to the number of about one thousand. The prisoners were soon

afterwards taken to the mainland, and set at liberty, equally astonished as they were rejoiced at our leniency.

The Nemesis, in the mean time, had gone over to Anunghoy, to render assistance, if required, and there observed the marines and seamen of the Blenheim and Melville, under Sir Le F. Senhouse, in the act of taking possession of the forts. It appears that they landed without much opposition, though they were only three hundred in number, and not only passed through the southern fort, driving the Chinese up the hill above, but also proceeded along the beach towards the northern fort, of which they also made themselves masters, the Chinese having fled. They had little anticipation of the total defeat which they were soon to sustain, for they had made rude sketches delineating the entire destruction of our ships by the terrible fire of their artillery.

The British flag had by this time supplanted that of China upon all the defences of the Bogue. It was little past two o'clock, and ample time yet remained to turn the victory to the greatest possible advantage before the close of the day. The Nemesis once more crossed over to Wantung, and as she drew so little water, was enable to run close in, and make fast to the lower fort itself. Nothing, however, of a hostile character remained to be done in this quarter, but there was yet ample room to perform the more humane duty of assisting the unfortunate Chinese. Many of these poor fellows were floating about in the water, clinging in despair to any small piece of wood or bamboo they might have the good fortune to find. Many were drowned, as had before been the case at Chuenpee, but many yet remained to be saved. Boats were sent out for this purpose, but the Chinese notions of warfare were of such a barbarous nature, that they seemed to think the only object of any attempt to save them was to reserve them for slow torture, mutilation, or death.* The poor fellows dived their heads under water as the boats approached them, attempting to drown themselves, and thus escape falling into our hands. Many were, nevertheless, dragged out, and carried on board the steamer, where they appeared bewildered by astonishment more than by fear, when they found that they were kindly treated. All of them were soon afterwards liberated without any conditions, and they then appeared thankful for their escape.

* The Chinese rarely make any effort to save even their own countrymen from being drowned. Indeed, should a common boatman tumble overboard accidentally, his own companions in the boat will often give him no assistance, particularly if he is *really* in danger of being drowned without it.

The day was now far advanced, but there still remained a fort and encampment to be taken possession of on the opposite side of the river, usually called Little Tycocktow, facing the western side of Wantung. There was every probability that these would be carried without resistance, for the Wellesley had already seriously damaged the fort, by her beautiful firing of shells in the morning, and the Modeste had also contributed to silence it. A party of the Wellesley's marines were embarked in her own boats, about four o'clock, under Lieutenant Maitland, and proceeded across, in company with the Nemesis, in order to complete the day's work. A few shots were fired by her as she approached the fort, but, finding they were not returned, the boats pushed off to land, including the boats of the Nemesis, with Captain Hall and Lieutenant Pedder. The fort was found abandoned, and having taken possession of it, they advanced up the hill in the rear with all speed, as they observed a body of Chinese in disorder, close to an encampment upon the top of it. However, on the approach of the little party, they fled into the interior, abandoning their lines, magazines, &c. These were all set on fire and destroyed, and the effect of the blaze, which lasted for a considerable time, becoming more vivid as the night closed in, spread far and wide among the distant inhabitants of the country the general panic which had already seized their troops. The conflagration extended itself on all sides much beyond the original site of the encampment, and threw its lurid glare over the scene of slaughter and confusion of the day. The guns in the fort being spiked, the boats returned with their crews to their respective ships.

Thus closed the eventful day of the capture of the famous Bogue forts, and the total dispersion of their unfortunate defenders. Had the Chinese been better armed, and more experienced in the important science of gunnery, the capture of the forts would have cost us a much greater sacrifice of human life. On this occasion, so trifling was the latter, that at 3 P.M., when Captain Elliot issued his circular announcing the fall of the batteries of the Bocca Tigris to her Majesty's forces, he added, that "no loss on our side had been reported up to that hour." Sir Gordon Bremer had only subsequently to report, that "*five men* were slightly wounded, throughout the whole force." Much surprise, however, was created by this announcement, for the firing was for some time kept up with spirit from the forts. It was also recorded with the utmost minuteness, "that the maintopmast and fore-yard of the Blenheim were shot through, one gun was rendered unserviceable, and there were several shots in the hull; that the Melville had also a shot in one of her top-

masts; that the Calliope was struck; and that other ships had just a rope cut here and there." No one could dispute the triumphant declaration of the commander-in-chief, that he was "convinced that almost any number of men the Chinese could collect, would not be able to stand against the animated gallantry of his men for an instant."

It is to be regretted that the loss on the side of the Chinese, in killed and wounded, should have been so considerable. Thirteen hundred prisoners were taken, but were set at liberty soon afterwards; and, altogether, upwards of five hundred were killed and wounded during the day. Many of the Chinese officers boldly and nobly met their death, some even courted it; they dreaded their master's wrath and their own degradation more than the loss of life at the hands of their country's foe. Among these, the most distinguished and most lamented was poor old Admiral Kwan, whose death excited much sympathy throughout the force; he fell by a bayonet wound in his breast, as he was meeting his enemy at the gate of Anunghoy, yielding up his brave spirit willingly to a soldier's death, when his life could be only preserved with the certainty of degradation. He was altogether a fine specimen of a gallant soldier, unwilling to yield when summoned to surrender, because to yield would imply treason. Kwan's body was recognised and claimed by his own family on the following day, and was of course readily given up to them. A salute of minute-guns was fired to his honour from the Blenheim, as a brave but fallen enemy.

The resistance which the Chinese *might* have offered to our forces will be seen from the following account of the ordnance captured during the day. On the southern Anunghoy fort, were 107 guns, of various calibre; one being a 68-pounder, one a 42, and a good many of 32, 24, and 18. Four of them were very large brass guns, made by the Portuguese, in 1627, two of these being upwards of 11 feet long, and 10¾ inches in diameter of the bore; three of the iron ones were of English manufacture, and the remainder were heavy Chinese guns. On the northern Anunghoy fort were 40 guns, about half of them varying from 18 to 42-pounders. All of these were Chinese. At the two sand-bag batteries, erected to the eastward of the southern fort, were about 30 guns of small calibre; so that there were altogether on that side of the river 107 guns. Again, upon the little fortified island of North Wantung were planted upwards of 136 guns, of which, however, one third were very small, and of little service; and another third of them varied from 6 to 12-pounders. The remainder were mostly very good, and some very heavy guns; one being a 68, and another a 42-pounder. Several of

these bore a curious inscription, similar to some others subsequently taken on Lord Napier's fort, near Canton.

On the fort and works on the mainland, on the western side of the river, facing Wantung, were also mounted about 40 guns. Thus, the whole number captured in this day's operations amounted to 380 pieces of cannon; to which, if we add 80 pieces more, captured on the preceding day by the Nemesis and boats, under Captain Herbert, at the masked battery and stockades in the river at the bottom of Anson's Bay, we shall find the whole number taken and destroyed in these two days alone, at the first resumption of hostilities, to have amounted to 460 pieces.

Immediately after the British flag was planted triumphantly upon the forts of the Bogue, or at any rate before the close of the day, a notice was issued by Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer, by which the blockade of the river of Canton was raised. British and foreign merchant-ships were now permitted to proceed as far as the Bogue, and were to be allowed to go further up the river, as soon as the obstructions to the navigation could be removed.

CHAPTER XV.

The large chain cable thrown across the river, supported by rafts, between Anunghoy and a little islet close to South Wantung, served no good purpose whatever; and, after the forts were taken possession of, nothing was easier than to remove this impediment to the navigation. The forts were next blown up, or damaged as much as they could be, though not without great labour and difficulty, arising from the heavy masses of stone and chunam of which they were constructed. Chinese powder was, moreover, used for the purpose, which, being less strong, though made as nearly as possible with the same proportions and of the same materials as our own, but with less care, added somewhat to the difficulty of the task. Several days were occupied by the engineers, sappers, and miners, assisted by seamen, in this laborious operation. It was, however, effectually done at last, scarcely one stone being left upon another.

On the morning following the action, the light squadron under Captain Herbert was ordered to proceed without delay up the river, in order to follow up the advantages already gained by the panic created by the capture of the Bogue. It consisted of the Calliope, Alligator, Herald, Sulphur, and Modeste, with the Nemesis and Madagascar steamers. The principal objects and

the general aspect of the river, as far as the second bar, (which is *below* the first,) have been already described, in connexion with the account of the grand conference between Keshen and Captain Elliot.*

The whole of the neighbouring country on both sides is almost one continued tract of swampy rice-ground, an additional proof of the endless water-communications. Above the first bar, the river becomes more intricate in its navigation, having its channel broken and divided by several islands, and ceasing to be navigable for vessels even of moderate size beyond Whampoa, at least by any channel which had been at that time discovered. The anchorage at Whampoa had heretofore been the resort of all the foreign trading ships, and the surrounding country at all times presents a very picturesque and refreshing appearance. The Canton river would seem at various times to have been subject to a great rise in its waters, and thus, overflowing the country through which it passes, to have formed for itself new passages and lines of communication, which in some parts give it the appearance of dividing itself into numerous distinct rivers, at other times merely separating its waters for a very short distance, leaving a few picturesque islands between its branches, and speedily re-uniting its numerous streamlets again.

Whampoa is, perhaps, the largest of several islands, which lie in the main course of the river. It is about four miles in length, and has a rather shallow channel on either side, navigable only for vessels of a very small draught of water. On its north-eastern side, quite towards its lower end, lies the much smaller island

* It should be remembered that by the first and second bar are merely meant sand-banks or flats, which impede the navigation of the river, of course contracting, to a certain extent, the channel for large ships. The second bar is a large shoal on the left side of the river, ascending (or geographically on its right bank) upwards of 10 miles above Tiger Island. The pagoda, near which the conference was held, stands near its upper extremity, on the same bank of the river. The first bar, however, lies about seven miles *higher up* on the opposite side of the river, and is not so extensive a flat as the lower one. It seems to have been formed by a deposit from the waters of one of the larger of those numerous rivers, or their branches, which empty themselves not only into the Canton River, but into all the principal rivers of China. Indeed so numerous are these water communications in every direction, that Keshen was perfectly correct in his observation that small vessels could proceed wherever they pleased, even up to Canton itself, without passing through the main river. Of course the channel becomes both narrower and more intricate in the neighbourhood of the bar; and therefore the Chinese shewed considerable judgment in attempting to defend this position, which was in fact the most tenable one between the Bogue and Whampoa; from which latter place it was distant about four miles.

called Junk Island, a long narrow strip of land, which with its shoals greatly impedes the navigation on that side. The channel between it and Whampoa is generally known by the name of Junk River.

Nearly all our merchant-ships used to anchor towards the bottom of Whampoa Island, in what has been called Whampoa Reach; but smaller ones could proceed up as far as the village of that name, beyond which the channel has become known by the name of Fiddler's Reach. Some, however, of our largest ships were formerly accustomed to take in their outward cargoes as low down as the "Second Bar," which occasioned an additional charge for lighters or cargo boats, and other inconveniences; but these now anchor in what has lately been called the Blenheim Reach, to the southward of Danes' Island. (See map and plan of Canton.)

It is not a little remarkable, that the Chinese authorities should have been able to keep foreigners so long in complete ignorance of some of the most important branches of their magnificent river, which for two centuries had witnessed the yearly increase of foreign commerce. This, no doubt, was effected by the jealous orders which were issued to their pilots, who dared not follow any other than the old prescribed track. Yet it is also remarkable that, among the many ships which have annually visited the river, none should have been found whose commanders were led by curiosity, or stimulated by the tiresome sameness of an everyday life during the dull season, to explore in open boats some of those large and tempting passages, the openings of which could be seen. Had not the war stimulated our exertions, or awakened our curiosity, we should, without doubt, have remained as ignorant as ever of the capabilities of the river, the extent of which was scarcely even surmised.*

No wonder that smuggling in every form has been long carried on to such a notorious extent by the Chinese at Whampoa, and in other parts of the river. The communications by water from one point to another, and in the interior of the country, are so numerous, and so interwoven with each other, that it would be impossible for any system of fiscal regulations which the Chinese could adopt, to act efficiently against the complicated machinery of evasion which could so easily be put in operation. This,

* The newly-explored passages will be described in the order of their discovery. The Blenheim Reach, Browne's Passage, and the communications with the Broadway River, by which our light squadron afterwards reached the city of Canton, were as yet quite unknown to us.

among other reasons, may have contributed (always secondarily, however, to their jealousy of foreigners) to the strictness of their orders respecting the anchorage for our ships.

The light squadron proceeded up the river early on the morning of the 27th of February. It was not yet perfectly ascertained what obstacles were to be met with, although it was well known that the Chinese had been making extensive preparations to impede the advance of our forces. The wind was light throughout the day, and the Sulphur, which was to have been the leading vessel, fell behind; the Nemesis, therefore, now took the lead, and proceeded with caution, giving the soundings by signal to the squadron, by means of flags fastened to the ends of long bamboos; by which contrivance the signals could be made with the greatest rapidity.*

No new defences or hostile preparations on the part of the enemy were discovered, until the squadron had passed up a considerable distance beyond the second bar shoals. The Nemesis being still ahead, it was now made out by Captain Hall that a large ship, probably the Cambridge, (a late British ship, purchased by the Chinese,) was at anchor near the first bar. This was immediately signalized to the squadron, which came to anchor about three miles from the position indicated; but the Nemesis, having previously taken the plenipotentiary and Captain Herbert on board, proceeded to reconnoitre, and to ascertain if a clear passage existed for the ships, as the channel was supposed to have been partially obstructed by sunken junks.

On arriving sufficiently near to observe accurately the dispositions of the enemy, it was discovered that a considerable mud battery had been constructed on the left bank of the river (the right in ascending) above the first bar, near the Brunswick rock, below Whampoa; and that in order to obstruct the advance of the squadron beyond it, a very strong and broad raft, formed by large masses of timber secured well together, had been carried quite across the river, from one side to the other, precisely opposite to the battery. Behind the raft lay the ship Cambridge, (previously known as the Chesapeake,) with an admiral's flag at the main, moored head and stern in such a way that only her bow guns could be brought to bear for the defence of the raft.

* It is worthy of notice, that not a single ship of the squadron touched the ground on their passage up, although there was no native pilot on board any of the vessels. The great advantage of steamers drawing little water in leading a fleet up a river, is undeniable; the certainty and perfect control of their movements, with the facility of changing their position, or of backing off, should they touch the ground, give them an immense advantage over every other class of vessels for exploring the passage of a river.

A number of war-junks were also under weigh not far from her. It was evident that the Chinese were quite prepared for resistance; and, had the Cambridge been anchored with springs on her cable, so as to enable them to bring her broadsides to bear alternately upon the raft, she might have fired with very great effect upon any of our ships as they approached. But the Chinese are not sufficiently acquainted with naval tactics to be able to make the best usé even of the resources at their command.

The war-junks looked much more formidable in the distance than when more nearly viewed, and there was much more probability of their making their escape after the first shots were fired, than that they would offer any serious opposition. The fort itself consisted of a strong line of mud batteries along the river-front, and was afterwards found to mount no less than 47 guns, which were principally intended to protect the raft. On the left flank of the battery were also mounted several guns, which bore directly upon the ships as they advanced up the river; and beyond this, further on the flank, was a small battery or field-work, mounting four or five guns, and connected with the former by an embankment, with a small ditch before it, upon which were planted a great number of ginjals, or wall-pieces. These latter, from being more easily managed, and more accurately pointed, were often calculated to do more injury than the great guns.

Within the fort, or line of field-works, was a double Chinese encampment, containing about 2000 men. The rear of the position was protected by a deep crack, 25 yards wide, and by paddy-fields, which were partially flooded. These impediments proved very injurious to the Chinese themselves, when they were driven out of the fort, and attempted to escape in the rear; and they suffered great loss there in consequence. The Cambridge was heavily armed, although she proved of no service whatever to her new masters.

It was determined that no time should be lost in commencing the attack on this formidable line of defence, without even waiting for the arrival of the other ships of the squadron. However, Captain Herbert immediately went down in his own gig to bring up the rest of the force under his orders. Captain Elliot remained on board the Nemesis, and on this and all other occasions exposed himself with a true sailor's courage, during the hottest part of the engagement.

An excellent position was taken up by Captain Hall, not more than 700 yards from the lower angle of the fort, and having anchored with springs on his cable, he commenced throwing shot, shell, and rockets single-handed into the fort and camp, and also

at the Cambridge, behind the raft. The guns were plied with great precision, principally under the direction of Messrs. Crouch and Strangways, mates, R.N.

It was now little more than half-past one, and at two o'clock the Madagascar took up a position a little outside of the Nemesis, and commenced firing at the Cambridge with her 24-pounders. The Chinese kept up their fire from as many guns as they could bring to bear, and from numerous large ginjals, with considerable spirit. The Nemesis was struck several times, but fortunately only one man was wounded. One of the large shot passed completely through the outer casing of the steam-chest, from one side to the other, and was very near penetrating the steam-chest itself, which would have been one of the most serious accidents which could possibly befal her. The fire of the Chinese was so well sustained for some time, that repeated persuasion was tried, but in vain, to induce Captain Elliot (who was standing as a spectator during the whole time upon the bridge between the paddle-boxes) to retire from such an exposed situation. The Nemesis, having afterwards changed her position, got aground, by running too close in shore in order to get as near as possible to the battery, and became so much exposed, that besides receiving several shot in her hull, she had her spars and rigging a good deal cut up.

At three o'clock the remainder of the squadron had arrived, the Sulphur being the first vessel which anchored and commenced firing; the other ships, however, came up in close succession, and fired their broadsides with great effect upon the batteries, the Cambridge, and the war-junks. The vessels engaged were the Calliope, Alligator, Herald, Modeste, and Sulphur, with the Nemesis and Madagascar steamers.

The Chinese, who had been already staggered by the smart fire of the steamers, were now completely bewildered by the additional attack of the other vessels. The fire speedily slackened; and, at about half-past three, the boats of the squadron, with the marines under Lieutenant Stransham, and a party of seamen, under their respective officers, put off to land and storm the works, the whole under the direction of Captain Herbert. Those of the Nemesis being nearest in-shore, had the advantage in landing first. All the best men on board, including some of her engineers, had volunteered for the occasion, and the whole force now formed together, and immediately dashed on to the gate leading into the fort close upon the shore. The Chinese attempted to defend it, but it was forced, although several of the Chinese officers fought with determined bravery but little science. Their troops retreated in disorder, and the British flag

was planted upon the fort by Captain Hall himself, who as usual headed his own party.

On this occasion one of the Chinese officers, with cool determination and a steady aim, deliberately discharged four *arrows* from his bow at Captain Hall, fortunately without effect. Had they been musket-balls, however, he could scarcely have escaped. A marine instantly raised his musket at the less fortunate Chinese officer; the aim was unerring, and he fell. An attempt was first made to save him for his coolness and courage; but in the heat of an engagement it is impossible to control every man, nor is it probable that the officer would have allowed himself to be taken prisoner.

About four o'clock the fort was completely in our possession, the Chinese having in vain attempted to stand against the hot fire of our musketry. They scrambled out at the rear of the fort in the best way they could, and there suffered severe loss. In fact they were caught as it were in a trap; the deep creek and flooded paddy-fields in a great measure prevented their flight, so that about a hundred of them were killed or drowned at that spot, although every effort was made to save them. Some of them tried to escape across the river, jumping into the water with merely pieces of wood or small logs in their hands, which they picked up as chance threw them in their way, in the hope that these would be sufficient to support them in the water.

While the principal part of our force was thus driving out the Chinese on one side of the fort, another and smaller party, consisting of volunteers from the Nemesis and Calliope, were hastening on towards the gate at the opposite end, at the extremity of the river-front of the fort, the Chinese retreating before them. Close by the gate stood a house, in which many of them took refuge; but, finding that there was no hope of escape, and that resistance would be useless, they immediately surrendered.

The great object now to be attained was to board the Cambridge, which was lying abreast of the fort. Unfortunately no Chinese boat was to be found along the shore, and it was quite tantalizing for the moment to see a prize so near without the means of reaching her.

At this juncture Lieut. Watson, first of the Calliope, succeeded in dragging one of his boats across the rafts, and launched her on the other side. He then took on board some of the little party on shore, who, seeing a body of Chinese crowding upon the deck of the Cambridge, had continued firing upon them. The boat, on board of which were Captain Hall and Mr. Galbraith of the Nemesis, together with Mr. Browne, Mr. St. Leger, and about nine or ten men instantly pulled off to the Cambridge.

The Chinese were so alarmed at the sudden attack upon all their defences at once, and at the capture of the fort, as well as at the loss they had already sustained on board, that they offered little or no resistance; most of them jumped overboard on the starboard side as the boarding party climbed up on the port side. Many of the Chinese must have been drowned in attempting to swim on shore, as there were no boats at hand to pick them up, and their own redoubtable war-junks had already made the best of their way up the river, for fear of meeting the same fate as the Cambridge. A number of dead and wounded were found upon the decks, strong evidence of the well-directed shot of our ships. She mounted altogether 34 guns, of English manufacture; and it was rather surprising to see how well the Chinese had prepared for action, the guns being in perfect order, fire-buckets distributed about the decks, and everything very clean and well-arranged.

It was decided by Captain Herbert, that she should be set on fire and destroyed, principally with a view to strike terror into the Chinese, far and wide, by the explosion; and partly, also, because she was an old and useless ship. Preparations, therefore, were at once made with this object. The wounded were all carried on shore, and every part of the ship was searched with great care, to ascertain that there were not any Chinamen remaining concealed. The few stores found on board were of very little value, and at five o'clock she was set on fire. Slowly the flames spread throughout the ship, gradually bursting out of every port; little more than an hour sufficed for the fire to reach the magazine, and then she suddenly blew up, rending the atmosphere, and making every object around her tremble with the explosion. The sparks and burning timbers were thrown far and wide in every direction; and, as it was by this time dark, they served to spread the alarming intelligence even among those who were scarcely near enough to hear the explosion. Several houses took fire at a considerable distance from the spot, by the falling of the burning fragments which were carried through the air. The lower part of the hull of the Cambridge went down in deep water.

Thus ended the tragedy of the day; and, following as it did only 24 hours after the capture of the Bogue, and at the distance of only a few miles from Canton, we can easily imagine how completely it must have paralysed for the moment all the little remaining spirit and energy of the Chinese. The city of Canton would probably have fallen an easy prey, had our successes been followed up by a bold dash at it. But the different approaches by which our forces could advance were then very imperfectly

known, otherwise the smallness of our numbers would in any case have been amply compensated by the panic of the moment.

Throughout the operations of the day, Captain Elliot had distinguished himself by his personal courage, and landed with the party from the Nemesis to storm the fort. The loss of the Chinese is believed to have amounted to about 300 killed and wounded. On our own side there were eight or nine men wounded and one killed. The magazine of the fort, and the guns, about 60 in number, were destroyed or rendered useless. Those of the Cambridge were blown up with the vessel.

The great raft across the river was not less than 550 yards long, and it is said to have cost the Chinese an immense sum of money, which was exacted from the Hong merchants. It was constructed with great strength and solidity, for upon it they had rested their most confident hopes of successful resistance. It was cleared away, not without a good deal of labour, on the following day, and thus the passage was now opened for the advanced squadron to proceed up to Whampoa.

The Madagascar was sent down to the Bogue, to inform Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer of what had taken place, while the boats of the squadron, together with the Sulphur and Nemesis, pushed on to explore the river higher up—a reconnoissance being necessary before the ships could advance, owing to the uncertainty as to what impediments the Chinese might have formed to obstruct the navigation.

During the day, the Nemesis and boats got far enough up the branch on the eastern side of Whampoa, called Junk River, to catch a view of a little fort at the upper end of Whampoa, called Howqua's Folly.* It was further ascertained that a large body of Chinese were collecting in that direction, principally on the shore opposite to the island, and that a double line of stakes, interlaced with bamboos, were driven across the upper part of the Junk River passage, where also several large junks appeared to have been sunk. It turned out afterwards that, had the Nemesis proceeded only 100 yards further on, she would have been lucky enough to have discovered a masked battery, which it was reserved for the boats of the Wellesley, in company with the Sulphur, to find out on the following day, and to have the honour of capturing.

In the meantime, Sir Gordon Bremer, in consequence of the important intelligence conveyed to him by the Madagascar,

* Why some of the forts should be called "Follies" does not appear evident. Such were the Dutch Folly, French Folly, Napier's Folly, and Howqua's Folly.

hastened up from the Bogue the same day, bringing with him the marines of the Wellesley, together with 100 seamen, under Capt. Maitland. The marines of the Blenheim, Melville, and Druid, likewise followed, together with a number of boats well armed and manned. The Queen steamer also came up, bringing with her the Eagle transport, and another, the Sophia, being towed up by the Madagascar.

In the evening, Sir Gordon Bremer, with these seasonable reinforcements, joined the advanced squadron just as they had got up to Whampoa Reach. In consequence of the report made to the commodore of the reconnoissance during the day, he was induced to send up the Sulphur on the following morning, together with three of the boats of the Wellesley, to pursue the examination further. The boats of the Wellesley were commanded by Lieutenant Symonds, the first lieutenant of that ship. It is distinctly stated, in Sir Gordon Bremer's *official despatch*, that the Sulphur was towed (going *up*) by the boats, and that, as soon as they had got within range of the masked battery, which had been *suspected* but not discovered the day before, the latter opened upon them; upon which, Lieutenant Symonds, with great decision and gallantry, instantly cut the tow-rope, and dashed off to storm the fort.

Such is the account published at the time. But in Captain Belcher's account of the affair, (vol. ii. p. 158,) it is stated that this was a mistake, and that the Sulphur was not *towed* at all by the boats; it is left to be inferred, also, that Lieutenant Symonds did *not* cut the tow-rope, or else that, if he had done so, he would have been guilty of a breach of discipline.

I have no means of judging between these two accounts; but it was generally understood that Lieutenant Symonds' gallantry and energy were highly approved of by the commodore, whether in obedience of orders or otherwise. Captain Belcher further states that he himself "jumped into his gig to *recal* the boats, or to prevent them doing too much, and that it was by Captain Elliot's wish, who was *left in charge during his absence*." Still it appears that the battery was carried by Lieutenant Symonds and his men, who soon drove the Chinese out of it, killing several. The official account further states that the Sulphur immediately anchored, and sent a few shot in amongst the dark underwood, in which the Chinese took shelter. The battery was found to mount about 23 guns, which, together with the magazine and all the *matériel*, were destroyed. The boats were repeatedly struck by grape-shot as they dashed on shore, but only one man was wounded mortally.

The Nemesis came up the Reach during the day, and managed

to get within long gun-shot of Howqua's Folly, about two miles higher up. In the evening, the Alligator, Modeste, and Herald, joined her, with two transports. The distance from Canton was now so short, that they must have been within sight of the city, although there was too little water by the direct passage to enable them to get up further. The channels by which they afterwards reached Canton had not as yet been discovered.

Howqua's Fort, or Folly, was built of stone, at the mouth of a little creek at the extremity of Whampoa Island, and was surrounded by low paddy-fields, which occasioned its foundation to be so insecure that it afterwards fell down. It mounted nearly 30 guns of various calibre. The commandant seems to have had no particular taste for fighting, and thought a timely retreat would save him a vast deal of trouble. The fort was accordingly soon abandoned. A detachment of the 26th Cameronians occupied it, while a party of marines, under Captain Ellis, took possession of a large joss-house, or temple, opposite to it, on the other side of Junk River, where a strong body of the enemy had already been seen. They strengthened this position against any sudden attack.

Just above these two points, and consequently between Howqua's and Napier's Folly, which latter was situated upon the extremity of a low alluvial island, a little above Whampoa, a strong line of stakes or piles had been driven into the bed of the river. The next step, therefore, was to clear a passage through them, which was not to be very easily effected, owing to the rapidity of the stream, and the stiffness of the soil forming its bed.

Just at this juncture, the prefect of Canton or Kwang-Chow-Foo came alongside the Nemesis in his barge, attended by a linguist, and inquired for Captain Elliot, who happened not to be on board. Upon this the prefect affected to be in a great hurry to go away, saying that he could not wait for his return. Captain Hall told him that if he could not wait, he had better be off at once. But he continued, for some time, sitting in his boat, which was hanging on astern, evidently with forced composure, for he declined coming on board the steamer.

As soon as Captain Elliot returned, they went down to Whampoa Reach together, where a conference was held in due form. Capt. Elliot certainly wished that hostilities should not be pushed further, if it could be avoided; and, accordingly, although it was perfectly well known and admitted that Keshen had been degraded from his office of commissioner, and that his successor had not yet arrived, a truce was agreed upon for three days with the Kwang-Chow-Foo. This was a humane and conciliating piece of leniency on the part of Captain Elliot, for, at that moment, there was

really no responsible public officer who could undertake on the part of the Chinese to treat for or accept any terms whatever. At the same time, it was not denied that a general panic prevailed at Canton, and that vast numbers of people were leaving the city.

A lull now ensued, the probable result of which it was idle to guess, although it was generally expected that hostilities would be resumed, and that no settlement whatever could be attempted, until Canton itself was completely at our mercy. This happened precisely at the moment of the arrival of Major-General Sir Hugh Gough, from Madras, in H.M.S. Cruizer, to assume the command in chief of all the land forces, by the orders of the governor-general of India. This important event happened on the 2nd March, 1841; and the arrival of a general of acknowledged bravery and distinction was a subject of much congratulation, and was looked upon as likely to lead to energetic and decisive steps.

It was also just about this time that the force which had been ordered down from Chusan arrived in the Canton River—namely, the Pylades, Blonde, Conway, and Nimrod, together with the transports conveying the troops. Our forces were, therefore, now concentrated. Advantage was taken of the interval of the three days' truce (which was to expire on the 5th) to explore in the Nemesis one of those broad passages which were known to turn off to the westward, from Whampoa Reach. It was thought likely to lead, indirectly, even to Canton, and might, therefore, greatly facilitate the advance of our forces upon the city. It has already been stated, that these channels had never been properly explored by foreigners; though a passage of some sort or other was well known to exist on either side of French and Dane's Islands. Captain Elliot himself was very anxious upon this subject, and offered a reward of 100 dollars to any active fisherman or pilot who would point out the best channel. A pilot soon offered his services, in consideration of the handsome reward; although there appeared little doubt of the Nemesis being able to find a passage for herself (drawing so little water) without any pilot at all.

Soon after 9 o'clock the Nemesis got under weigh, having Captains Elliot, Herbert, and other officers on board. The object was not to make any minute survey of the passage; but merely to ascertain, by a cursory examination, the nature of the channel, and in what direction it was likely to terminate. Leaving Dane's and French Islands to the southward, they proceeded very cautiously to thread their way through the shoals or mud-banks which were found in the passage. The country on both sides was low and swampy, but the channel was not found blocked up by sunken

junks or stones, as it had been in other parts; probably because the Chinese hardly expected that any attempt would be made to pass through it, and partly because the river into which it led (the Broadway or Macao passage) had been already sufficiently fortified and obstructed. They passed a deserted battery and one or two small villages. In the course of a couple of hours, during which time they had advanced slowly, with a depth of water from two to three fathoms, they came in sight of a circular stone fort, with a tower or pagoda upon it, apparently between two and three miles distant.

As the truce had not yet expired, it was not thought right to proceed further for the present; but they had already reached the point of junction with the Macao passage or Broadway River, in the middle of which the fort (which was afterwards called the Macao Fort) was situated. Enough had been ascertained to serve as a guide for future operations; and the Nemesis, passing round a small island at the head of the passage, returned the same way she had come, and rejoined the squadron at Whampoa. It was through this passage that some of our vessels proceeded, a few days afterwards, to the attack of the fort, which has been noticed above.

On the following day, the 6th, the truce expired. But there was anything but a peaceable disposition shewn on the part of the Chinese authorities. They issued strict orders that none of the natives should supply provisions to our ships. The boats which had hitherto come fearlessly alongside our vessels, all on a sudden disappeared, and it was known at Canton that the native merchants were compelled to remove all the tea and silk out of the town. In consequence of these proceedings, a proclamation was addressed by Captain Elliot to the people of Canton, telling them that they were quite at our mercy, and that the city was only spared "in order to shew how *tenderly* the good and peaceable inhabitants were considered" (by the English.) But it was added, that, "if the authorities should continue to prevent the native merchants from buying and selling with the foreign merchants, then the whole trade of Canton was to be immediately stopped, and the city strictly blockaded." It then wound up by throwing "the whole responsibility of the present state of things upon the bad advisers of the emperor."

Preparations were now made for an immediate advance upon the city; and it was a favourite notion of Captain Elliot that he could blockade all the approaches to Canton, and thus, by cutting off its immense *internal* commerce, upon which thousands depend for their living, and nearly the whole population for its

supplies of food, constrain the authorities to come to some reasonable terms, without any further necessity for a resort to arms.

CHAPTER XVI.

Captain Elliot now addressed a request to the naval and military commanders-in-chief, that they would make no further movements towards the city until the disposition of the provincial officers could be put to the test. All the private information which could be gathered, however, tended to shew that further delay was likely to be useless and even prejudicial. As soon, therefore, as the day for the expiration of the truce had arrived, the Nemesis was ordered to convey Captain Elliot, with the commodore and the major-general, together with their respective suites, up to Howqua's Fort, having the broad pendant flying; there several other ships of the advanced squadron were already at anchor. The flag of truce was then lowered, and immediate dispositions were made for the capture of Napier's Fort, which was a little distance higher up.*

A little below the fort a strong double line of piles had been driven into the bed of the river, completely across from one bank to the other. These were strengthened by sunken junks, and the passage was further blocked up by large stones thrown into the river, and other impediments. There were flanking batteries also on either side, recently built of mud, and not quite finished; they were intended to mount 35 and 44 guns. These positions were capable of being stoutly defended, had they been fully armed and manned. Such, however, was not the case; and, as the commandant of the fort was inclined to exhibit the same compliant disposition as his gallant companion in arms had shewn at Howqua's Fort below, no resistance was offered; in fact, the garrison all ran away as soon as they had fired their guns, having previously intimated their intention, and succeeded in making good their escape.

* A little more than half a mile above the upper end of Whampoa lies another small, low, alluvial island, which divides the river into two branches; and upon the lower extremity of it stood a semicircular fort, designed to command the passage on either side. This was called Napier's Fort, from having been built expressly to commemorate the discomfiture and ultimate death of that lamented nobleman. It mounted 35 guns.

The Sulphur, accompanied by some of the boats of the squadron, managed to get up first and took possession, followed by the Nemesis, with the commodore on board, and other vessels. A detachment of troops had been sent round by the general, with a view to take the flanking-batteries in the rear; but as it now appeared that they were undefended, and as the march over swampy paddy-fields, and across numerous water-courses, was anything but agreeable and not likely now to be useful, they returned to the joss-house below.

In the afternoon, the Nemesis proceeded with the commodore and Captain Elliot down to Whampoa, passing along the western side of that island, by the channel which was known by the name of Fiddler's Reach; she had therefore gone completely *round* Whampoa Island in the course of the day, for she went up by the eastern or Junk river side, and came down by the western or Fiddler's Reach passage, proving the practicability of *both* channels for vessels of small draught of water. At a subsequent period, after the fall of Canton, and when the Chinese were prevented by us from renewing or extending any of the defences of the river *below* Whampoa,* they set about strengthening the positions above that island with all the resources they could employ. Before the close of the war, they not only re-built Napier's Fort in a much more substantial manner, but fortified all that line of the river upon a plan much superior to any they had hitherto attempted.

Three other large stone forts have been built, with a view to command the navigation of this part of the river—namely, one on each bank of the river, opposite Napier's Fort, and one about half a mile lower down, at the point where the river is strongly staked across. Viewed from the river, all these new forts look extremely formidable, being built entirely of stone, of considerable height, and calculated to mount little less than 200 guns. The structure of all these new works is of a kind superior to any before seen in China; and it is generally supposed that they have been built at the suggestion or with the assistance of some European engineer. But, as usual in China, the rear of the forts is almost entirely unprotected, except by a stone wall; and, were

* The scenery about Whampoa, and between that island and Canton, throughout all the channels, is very picturesque. The fine pagoda upon Whampoa, rising up, as it were, out of a little mount of wood, and another similar one on the mainland higher up, surrounded by rich fields and numerous winding streams, are striking objects. A few scattered farm-houses, with their large, curved, angular roofs, together with the village of Whampoa, and the numerous boats of all shapes and sizes plying upon the river, present a peculiar and thoroughly Chinese prospect.

it not that the advance of an enemy on that side would be greatly impeded by ditches and paddy-fields, which would oppose difficulties to the bringing up of artillery, they could be captured without any extraordinary effort.

The short pause in our operations, which now again took place at the request of Captain Elliot, was precisely in accordance with the liberal assurances of the most *pacific* intentions on the part of the Chinese. Their acts, however, by no means agreed with their words. It was ascertained that a large number of fire-vessels were preparing a few miles above Canton; that new defences were constructing around the city, particularly upon the heights in its rear; and that people were removing their property from the town, and no valuable produce was allowed to be brought into it. Sir Gordon Bremer distinctly expressed his conviction that the measure of attacking Canton itself must speedily be resorted to; although he deplored the excesses to which it might give rise, owing to the abandonment of the city by the authorities, and the absence of control over the rabble of a community proverbially bad. The major-general now went down the river, and remained at Wantung with the commodore, where plans for the future operations were devised.

About this time, Keshen, whose functions had already ceased, left Canton for Pekin, in disgrace, in order to be put upon his trial for traitorous conduct, as his unfortunate defeats were now termed. The result was that he was utterly degraded; all his property, which was enormously valuable, was confiscated, and he himself banished to the cold regions of Tartary.

On the 10th, despatches were sent up by the Nemesis from Captain Elliot (who in the meantime had gone to Macao) to the commodore of the Bogue, in consequence of the Chinese authorities having issued chops or passports for all ships *except British*, to proceed up the river to trade, as far as Whampoa. This act of open defiance could not be overlooked, and Captain Elliot himself seems to have been struck by the hostile temper which this proceeding evinced. A notice was, in consequence, issued to the effect "that, as the port of Canton from its entrance to its extremity, was in the military occupation of her Majesty's arms, no ships whatever would be permitted to enter the river, except under the authority of the commander-in-chief; and moreover, that a close embargo would be laid on the city and trade of Canton, until the whole of their foreign trade should be placed upon a perfectly equal footing, without any exception whatever." In point of fact, our previous forbearance had not been understood, and was certainly looked upon rather as an evidence of conscious weakness on our part, than as what it actually

was — an instance of forbearance, resulting from conscious strength.

It was probably the necessity which he now felt of striking some blow calculated to make an immediate impression upon the Chinese, which induced Captain Elliot to direct his attention to one of the most boldly-conceived and successfully-executed exploits which have to be recorded during this campaign. It appears to have struck him almost on a sudden; and finding that Captain Scott, of the Samarang, who was then senior officer at Macao, and also Captain Hall, of the Nemesis, entirely concurred with him in his views, it was resolved that not a moment should be lost. Above all, it was kept perfectly secret; so that no rumour of any new project could reach any of the inhabitants of Macao, either Portuguese or Chinese. The undertaking to which I allude, became afterwards generally known as the forcing of the Broadway, or Inner, or Macao Passage, (for it has obtained all these names,) by the Nemesis, accompanied by three boats — viz., two belonging to the Samarang, and one to the Atalanta steamer. This passage leads direct from Macao to Canton, but had been hitherto frequented only by native boats; indeed, no others were permitted to pass through it. This was one of those numerous opportunities in which the Nemesis so clearly demonstrated the great advantage to be derived from the employment of shallow iron steamers in hostile operations along the course of unexplored rivers.

This intricate passage was one never before traversed by any European vessel or boat, and believed by the Chinese themselves to be inaccessible to foreigners, both owing to the shallowness and intricacy of its channels, and to the number and strength of the artificial defences erected on its banks. It can, perhaps, be scarcely called a distinct river, but may be rather considered as in reality one of those almost innumerable channels which present themselves to view on every side, along the whole sea-board of China; dividing and then re-uniting, sometimes receiving large branches, sometimes throwing them off, here communicating with other rivers, and there even traversing across them. It is difficult to ascertain, with regard to many of them, whether they are distinct rivers or branches, or mere water-courses, leading from one to the other. In short, with respect more particularly to the country about Canton, the whole of it appears to be subdivided, again and again, by these ever-multiplying channels, which form a sort of fluid net work, embracing the soil it nourishes and *reproduces*. Many of these are only known, among the Chinese themselves, by those who depend on them for subsistence; and who, rarely quitting them, make their boat their floating home.

On leaving the roads of Macao, and proceeding nearly due west, after passing the town and the entrance to the Inner Harbour beyond it, you come into a straight but rather shallow channel, which continues in the same direction along the southern shore of the island called Twee-Lien-Shan. Having reached its western extremity, which is about four miles from Macao, you very shortly enter the mouth of a river, which is broad but shallow, and becomes narrower as you proceed up towards the north-west, by the gradual contraction of its shores. This is the entrance to the Broadway, or Inner Passage. Several openings were soon perceived on both sides, probably the mouths of smaller rivers or creeks, entering the larger channel. The proper opening of the Inner Passage begins about six miles from the western point of Twee-Lien-Shan Island, but the narrow part of it is about four miles further on.

Let us now imagine ourselves just embarked on board the Nemesis in Macao roads, at 3 o'clock in the morning on the 13th of March, all the arrangements having been completed the day before. Already, Captain Elliot and suite are on board; and Captain Scott, of the Samarang, who commands the force, is standing on the quarter deck with the other officers, impatient to start, while the boats of the Samarang, and that of the Atalanta, are making fast astern. Mr. Johnston, the deputy-superintendent of trade, and also Mr. Morrison and Mr. Thom, the indefatigable interpreters and secretaries,* the value of whose services throughout the war it is impossible too highly to appreciate, were also on board during this expedition.

Having quitted the town of Macao with the utmost quietness, leaving all the world asleep, and unconscious of any movement, they soon fell in with a large junk at anchor, which was fortunately able to furnish a pilot, one of her crew being taken out, not without reluctance, for that purpose. At first the poor fellow was very much frightened, but finding that he was well treated, well fed, and good pay promised, he soon became reconciled to his position, and behaved well throughout. During the day he seemed very little concerned about the firing either of the steamer or of his own countrymen, and piloted the vessel, as far

* Not only on this, but on many other occasions, these gentlemen were personally exposed to the fire of the enemy, little less than either soldiers or sailors. They showed the utmost coolness and personal courage: and it is but justice to them to remark that their presence was always of the greatest value in every operation, even though unarmed, and, as non-belligerents, unnoticed. Their knowledge of the language and their good judgment frequently enlisted in our favour the people of the country, who might have offered great annoyance, and they were often able to mitigate the hardships even of war itself.

as his knowledge extended, up the river very accurately. The progress was at first slow, owing to the shallowness of the water, which often did not much exceed five feet, for a vessel of more than 600 tons burden! indeed the pilot himself maintained that it would be impossible for the vessel to proceed; and it may be noticed that the soundings at the entrance were not found so deep as laid down in Horsburgh's chart, in which they are partially given. However, on she went, nothing daunted either by mud, sand, or water, or even by the shallowness of the river.

Day had now long dawned; and at 8 o'clock she came in sight of a fort on the starboard hand, which proved to be situated on a small promontory on the left bank of the river. It is called Motow, and is situated some distance below a point where the main channel separates into two branches. Half an hour afterwards, the Nemesis was near enough to take up a position to the southward of the fort, so that she could fire directly into it without any of the enemy's guns being able to bear upon her; in fact, she enfiladed the position. Upon this the fort was abandoned by the Chinese, whose flight was accelerated by their seeing that the boats were putting off to attack them. The place was immediately taken possession of, the buildings of every kind set on fire, and the guns, 13 in number, rendered unserviceable. The boat's crews were again on board the Nemesis in about an hour, and she pursued her course without loss of time. About four miles further on, just above where the river becomes more contracted by its division, a second fort was discovered, also situated on the left bank. The position was well chosen, upon a rising ground, at some distance from the river side, but commanding the whole bend or reach of the river in front of it. It was built of mud, but protected nearly all round by flooded paddy-grounds.

On this occasion the Chinese were the first to open their fire upon the Nemesis as she rounded an intervening point of land, and entered the reach above mentioned. They kept up their fire at first very smartly, having probably trained all their guns to bear upon one particular point. It was most effectually returned by the steamer with shot, shell, and rockets, which were thrown (as officially reported by Captain Scott himself) with remarkable accuracy. The boats again put off to land, under cover of the rising bank on the river side, with the intention of taking their position in flank; but the Chinese at once abandoned their works; though, if they had resisted the advance, they might have inflicted severe loss, as the party could only approach the fort along a narrow causeway, in single file. The works were immediately taken possession of, and were found to mount

12 or 14 guns, which were of course destroyed, as were also the sheds and buildings within the fort, which, however, were of very recent construction, and of a temporary nature.

Before returning to the steamer, the boats pulled across to the opposite side of the river, where a large chop-house and military depôt were likewise destroyed. The name of the fort, or field-work above described, was Tei-yat-kok. At this point several other Chinamen were taken on board as pilots, for the better navigation of the channel through which they had now to proceed.

They had ascended a very little way further up the river, when, to the joy of every one, they espied nine war-junks under weigh, a considerable distance ahead, and chase was given at full speed, in spite of all obstacles of the navigation. The interest and excitement momentarily increased, as every mile they advanced served to lead them to the conclusion that the Chinese were better prepared for defence than had been at all expected. Indeed it was not a little remarkable that a passage never before explored by foreigners should have been found in a state of preparation against attack, by forts of old standing and solid construction, as well as by works of recent and temporary formation.

On entering the bend of the river in which the junks had been first caught sight of, a considerable stone-built fort was discovered, called Houchong, or Ha-chap, close to the river's side, upon its right bank, (on the left-hand ascending,) in front of which, and perfectly commanded by it, piles had been driven across the river so as to obstruct the navigation. But the work had apparently not been quite finished, and a narrow opening was still left in the centre, through which the junks had already passed, in order to take up a more secure position, as they thought, on the other side. The fort mounted fourteen or fifteen guns. But there was also another and smaller fort close to it, built of earth, and not yet finished, being without guns, but having ten embrasures.

Here, again the Chinese were the first to begin firing, both from the fort and junks, but it was returned with precision and rapidity by the Nemesis, under cover of which the boats pushed off to storm the fort. This was effected without much difficulty. The fall of the fort of course left the passage through the stakes quite unprotected, except by the junks; but the Chinese sailors were so panic-struck with the rapidity with which the fort had been taken, and by the approach of the boats, which were now making their way through the stakes to attack them, that seven out of the nine were run ashore by their crews,—when they immediately jumped overboard and escaped, leaving their vessels entirely at our mercy.

Just as the boats came up to take possession, a field-work on the left bank, within little more than 100 yards of the headmost junk, opened fire on them unexpectedly with grape-shot. As the junks were already abandoned, a strong party at once landed, and carried the field-work, by passing round to its rear, which, as usual with the Chinese, was left almost unprotected. This place, which was called Fie-shu-kok, was set on fire and destroyed, together with the seven guns which were mounted on it. The war-junks were likewise set on fire, and blew up very shortly afterwards. But the two which had not been run ashore contrived to make good their escape.

During these operations Captain Hall had dexterously succeeded in getting his steamer through the stakes by the same opening through which the junks had passed, and which barely afforded room for her paddle-boxes. The flood-tide was now running up with great rapidity, and she was therefore dropped through the passage, being steadied by kedges and hawsers, two of which were cut away and left behind.

She now joined the boats opposite to Fie-shu-kok; and, as soon as the destruction of the junks and works had been completed, it was resolved to push on further up the river, in the hope of overtaking the two junks which had got away. Altogether 21 guns had been destroyed in these forts, and 28 more in the junks. But the *impression* made through all the neighbouring country by these active measures, was far more important than the mere destruction of a certain number of guns.

At half-past three they arrived at the large trading town of Heong-Shan, about five or six miles further up. The river flows straight through the middle of it, so that they found themselves unexpectedly in the centre of an important inland town, in which, if it had been their object, it was easily within their power to inflict severe injury upon a dense and apparently harmless population. But it has been mentioned before that much suffering was spared by the assistance of Mr. Morrison and Mr. Thom. Captain Elliot also exerted himself very much to prevent the peasantry or mere lookers-on from being implicated; and he sometimes allowed even the armed soldiers to escape, rather than run the risk of injuring the innocent. The object was to confine hostilities as much as possible to the servants and property of the Chinese government, leaving the people uninjured.

The good effect of this policy was soon very evident. The inhabitants of this populous town appeared to regard with very little apprehension the approach of the steamer, and seemed more moved by curiosity and astonishment at her structure and

locomotive power than alarmed by any dread of her hostile intentions. The people crowded upon the banks of the river; the house tops and the surrounding hills were covered with curious gazers, wondering what strange event would happen next. Hundreds of trading-junks and boats of various kinds, most of them the sole home of their owners, were crowded together on both sides of the river throughout the town, and even above and below it. The river was narrow, and so densely were the boats packed, that the only passage left was directly in the centre of the stream, where, as if by mutual consent, a clear way had been left, only just broad enough to allow the steamer to pass, and requiring some dexterity to avoid running foul of the junks on either side.

It is very curious that so large a body of people should have looked on with so little apparent fear, particularly as they could well perceive that the steamer was in chase of two war-junks, which had preceded her, followed by several mandarin boats, in which the mandarins or authorities of the town were endeavouring to make their escape in the greatest consternation. One of the war-junks, finding that it was impossible to keep ahead of the steamer, which was rapidly gaining on her, was run ashore, some distance above the town, by her crew, who immediately jumped overboard, and had only just time to escape before the steamer came up. She was at once boarded, and then set fire to and blown up. She carried four guns. It was now observed that Chinese soldiers were gathering thickly upon the neighbouring hills, as if meditating a descent; but a shot or two thrown in among them served to put them to flight.

Just at this moment a masked battery, concealed by some trees, not more than a couple of hundred yards ahead, imprudently betrayed itself by opening its fire on the steamer; nor was this the only instance in which small forts or field-works would have been passed unseen and uninjured, had they not expended useless powder in making a smoke, which at once betrayed them. The fire was instantly returned, and served to cover the boats, which put off with the marines of the Samarang, commanded by Capt. Gordon, of that gallant corps, to storm the works. Eight guns were found in it, which, together with the buildings and magazine, were of course destroyed. This place was called Sheongchap, and was situated just below a point where the river divides, or rather where two branches unite.

It being now past six, P.M., it was thought proper to anchor for the night, after a very severe day's work for all hands since three in the morning. The Nemesis, having proceeded a little distance

below Sheongchap, found herself getting into very shallow water, and therefore anchored for the night. The channel was so narrow that it was impossible to turn the vessel round, scarcely even by forcing her bows hard aground over the banks. She was anchored head and stern, and guard-boats were placed round her all night, for fear of any attempt at surprise.

On the following morning, the 14th, the Nemesis again pursued her course up what appeared to be the principal branch, but which became so shallow that it was doubtful how far she would be able to proceed; she had seldom more than six feet water, and in many places only five, so that she was frequently forced through the mud itself. There was not room to turn her fairly round, and the only mode in which she could be managed was by sometimes driving her bows as far as possible into the river's bank, sometimes her stern, while at other times it was hard to say whether she was proceeding over a flooded paddy-field, or in the channel of a water-course. This gave occasion to a facetious remark, in which sailors sometimes delight, that this "would be a new way of going overland to England."

After proceeding only three or four miles, a village came in sight, with a fort adjoining, and rather above it. This was afterwards found to be named Kong-How. Nearly opposite to the fort the river was again found to be staked across, much more strongly than it was at Houchong; and it was in a similar manner commanded by the guns of the fort. The Nemesis, as soon as she came within good range, opened her fire warmly upon the fort, which the Chinese returned. The boats pushed off as usual; but the moment the marines and a party of seamen began to land, the Chinese abandoned the fort in confusion. On the upper side of the fort, sand-bags were found recently piled up against the walls, as if the Chinese had expected the attack to be made on that side; which shews that they anticipated that an attempt would be made to explore these passages, but that they rather looked for it from the side of Tycocktow than from Macao. The works, with their nine guns and magazine, were afterwards all blown up at once.

The principal obstacle now remaining to be got rid of was one more troublesome than all the forts together, or any impediment yet met with. The line of piles which had been driven in across the river was not less than twenty feet wide, or rather it was a double line, filled up between the two with large sunken junks laden with stones. Great labour and perseverance were required to get up sufficient of these piles to clear a passage broad enough

for the steamer to pass. This was only accomplished after four hours' hard work, in which, oddly enough, the Chinese peasantry bore an active part, voluntarily coming forward to assist, and even venturing to come on board the steamer itself. This was, undoubtedly, one of the good results of not having inflicted any injury upon the country people or inhabitants of the villages through which the little expedition had passed.*

A little above this obstruction a large chop-house or mandarin station came into view, with a mandarin-barge lying just

* Inquiry has often been made what method was adopted in order to open a passage through obstacles such as I have described above. It may, therefore, be here remarked, that several modes were at different times resorted to, according to circumstances. Where the stakes were not driven in very firmly, it was easy, by fastening a hawser round the top of them, and making it fast to the steamer, to back her out, and pull them one by one away; but as this was a tedious process, a hawser was sometimes fastened round ten or a dozen of them in a line across the river, and carried from one to the other, but fastened to each of them in such a way as to leave about a few fathoms of slack rope between each pair. The end of the hawser was made fast to the steamer with a tolerable length of line out, and she was then backed at full speed. The momentum thus acquired was soon sufficient to drag the first pile away with a jerk; and this one being fastened already to the next, as before described, with a fathom or two of slack line between them, the force of the steamer, which still continued to back astern, was sufficient to jerk that one away also; and thus proceeding at full speed backwards, the steamer pulled them all away, one after the other, still remaining fastened together by the hawser; but the power of the jerk was only applied to one at a time.

In cases where the stakes were driven in to some depth, or where the bed of the river was tenacious, it was necessary to pull them fairly out perpendicularly, by luff-tackle led up to the mast-head. The piles were gradually loosened a little by being pulled to and fro; for which purpose chain-slings were passed round the head of the pile, and a hawser being then made fast, was led aft along the deck; thus by being pulled in various directions, sometimes one way, and sometimes another, the pile was at length drawn fairly out, something like drawing a tooth. The bows of the steamer were run nearly close up to the piles during this operation, and she was steadied by a hawser run out from the quarter to the banks of the river.

A great point seems to lie in the management of the steamer itself, so as to be able to apply the power in the proper direction, and at the right moment. This is the more important, as the stream is generally pouring through or over the stakes with the greater impetuosity, owing to the obstruction it meets with from the obstacles in its way. This also constitutes the difficulty of getting through the opening, even after it is once made. It is often necessary to lay out a kedge on each bow to steady the vessel, as she works her way through, and to prevent her from falling broadside on to the stream.

Generally, on these occasions the water was shallow, so that it was necessary to raise both keels of the vessel, and also the drop-rudder, and therefore it was sometimes extremely difficult to steer her under those circumstances, and the use of the kedges became the more necessary. In the present instance a space of 22 feet was opened, and the steamer was got through with considerable care and some difficulty.

off it. A shot fired into the principal building soon drove out all the soldiers who had taken refuge in it—probably the mandarin's guard. The boats were now sent ashore, and soon destroyed the whole of the buildings, together with the mandarin-boat, with a gun and two ginjals. It was not possible for the steamer to tow any of the boats or junks away with her, because she was continually touching the ground, and frequently forcing herself through the mud, so that it would have been impossible to get on at all if she had been impeded by any other encumbrance; they were therefore all destroyed.

As soon as the boats had returned from their service on shore, the steamer pushed on again, and the water began to deepen; so that at half-past six she was able to come to anchor for the night in five fathoms water. From this point the high rock of Lankeet, in the Canton river, could be easily recognised, bearing about due east, and not very far distant.

On the morning of the 15th, having proceeded about three miles further on, a large village, called Tamchow, came into view, on the left bank of the river. Here a party of matchlockmen were observed crouching along the banks of the river, endeavouring to pass unnoticed. A few rounds of musketry at once dispersed them.

Again the steamer pursued her course, without finding anything particularly worthy of notice for a couple of hours, when she came to a large town on the left bank of the river, (it is remarkable that nearly all their towns and villages were on that side,) which was called Tsenei, just above a place called Kwam, close to which two or three dismantled and abandoned forts had been passed. Here the chop or custom-house, which was also a sort of military station, by the water-side, was set on fire and destroyed. A large war-junk, also, (probably the one which had before escaped,) which mounted seven guns, was captured and blown up, the crew having abandoned it on the approach of the "devil-ship."

Above this point the channel again became very narrow and shallow. The Chinese pilots now declared that it would be impossible for the steamer to proceed much higher up, as the passage was only deep enough for boats. Having nearly reached a small place, called Weichung, the Nemesis was at length compelled to desist from the attempt to pursue her course further in that direction, particularly as it was now ebb-tide. Several other channels could be seen on both sides, and one in particular appeared to lead to the eastward, towards the main branch of the Canton river, below Whampoa. Accordingly, it was resolved to follow this latter branch, with a view to join the advanced squadron, if possible.

In this short passage a considerable walled town was passed, at the distance of less than half a mile, with which the communication was kept up by means of a canal, which could be seen to enter the town under a large arch, or bridge. Upon this a great number of people were collected, to watch the progress of the steamer. The country around it was extremely well cultivated, and the peasants were busy at their agricultural operations, without any apparent fear. Soon afterwards the Nemesis found herself entering the main river, at a very short distance below the pagoda at the Second Bar, and proceeded without delay to join the light squadron which was at anchor in Whampoa Reach, and received the congratulations of all parties. Captain Elliott and suite then left the Nemesis, and proceeded on board Captain Herbert's ship, the Calliope.

Thus ended this singular and highly successful expedition of three days up the Broadway passage, during which so much had been done towards disabling and annoying the enemy by the steamer, assisted by the boats before-mentioned, and the marines of the Samarang, all under the direction of Captain Scott. This exploit would have gratified most men, even as the work of a single vessel, for a whole campaign. It need hardly be added, that Captain Scott was the first to acknowledge and to bring to public notice the value of the services of the Nemesis and her commander on this occasion; and Captain Elliott, who was an eye-witness of all these operations, bore similar testimony to their importance. They were also mentioned in flattering terms by the commodore in his public despatch. It must not be omitted that all the officers of the vessel nobly and energetically bore their share in the labours and dangers of the undertaking; and those who belonged to the boats of the Samarang and the Atalanta were equally conspicuous, and had opportunities of distinguishing themselves on shore.*

The result of this expedition was highly beneficial, and afforded more insight into the nature of the country, and gave a more correct estimate of the resources of the Chinese, than could have been expected within so short a distance from Macao. Indeed, considering how long that place had been the resort of Europeans, it was astonishing how little was known of its neighbourhood. The country on both sides of the passage was found to be fertile and highly cultivated; while, in the neighbourhood of the villages, the banks of the river were laid out in neatly cultivated gardens. An air of comfort and of thriving industry everywhere prevailed.

* It should be here mentioned, that Capt. Larkins, who formerly commanded one of the East India Company's vessels, and had been long acquainted with the Chinese character, volunteered his valuable services upon the occasion.

The peaceable, and one may almost say, the apathetic bearing of the people generally, and their refraining from all hostile demonstrations, are worthy of notice; particularly when we remember that they must not only have heard of, but even perhaps been witnesses to, the engagements at the Bogue, at Chuenpee, at the First Bar, and elsewhere. Much, perhaps, may be attributed to the valuable presence of Mr. Morrison and Mr. Thom, who, from their accurate knowledge of the character of the people, knew well how to allay their fears, and conciliate even their good offices.

The whole loss on our side, during this adventurous trip, was only three men wounded. Altogether, 115 guns were destroyed, together with 9 war-junks, and several armed mandarin-boats; 6 batteries, and three government chop-houses or military stations, together with barracks and magazines, were also taken and set on fire.

CHAPTER XVII.

During the time the Nemesis, with the boats and marines of the Samarang, and the boat of the Atalanta, were occupied in destroying the works of the Chinese in the Broadway River, a division of the light squadron, under the command of Captain Herbert, had captured another fort in the upper part of the same river, at the distance of only about two miles from Canton. The vessels employed upon this occasion were the Modeste and Starling, with the Madagascar steamer, and boats from most of the ships of the advanced squadron, commanded by Captain Bethune, viz., the Blonde, Conway, Calliope, Herald, Alligator, Hyacinth, Nimrod, Pylades, and Cruizer.

On the 13th (March), they pushed through the upper channel leading from Whampoa, which had been explored on a previous occasion by the Nemesis, under the orders of Captain Herbert; and late in the afternoon they entered the Broadway River without any accident, although the passage was found very intricate, owing to the number of shoals. The Modeste was only got through with considerable difficulty, piloted by Captain Collinson, and assisted by the Madagascar steamer. Captain Belcher endeavoured to bring the Sulphur through, but failed, as she grounded about four miles from the point of attack. The Queen steamer was found to draw too much water, and could not be employed to tow her up.

The fort which they were about to attack was the same which had before been seen at a distance by Captain Herbert in the

Nemesis, and was found to be of a circular form, strongly built of stone, with a tower in the centre, and situated upon a small alluvial islet in the middle of the river, which it completely commanded. It was afterwards called the Macao fort, and was found to mount 22 guns. The Chinese had made attempts to strengthen this important post, as an outwork to impede the advance of our forces upon Canton in that direction. With this view they had constructed rafts across the river on both sides of the fort, strengthened by a few piles and sunken junks, and flanked by a sand battery, mounting eight small guns.

As soon as our vessels and boats approached, the Chinese opened a well-sustained fire from the fort, which was returned with good effect by the Modeste, which had been admirably placed by Captain Eyres, within 600 yards, assisted by the Starling and Madagascar. In about half an hour the whole of the works were carried, but the Chinese maintained their fire until the rest of the force were under the walls, when they fled out of it in all directions, leaving several dead in the fort. On our side only three men were wounded. Captain Kuper, and Commanders Barlow, Giffard, Anson, and Clarke, volunteered their services on this occasion, and the marines were commanded by Lieutenant Stransham. A large mandarin boat was captured before the Chinese could carry it away; and a small garrison was immediately placed in the fort, the Modeste remaining at anchor some distance below it. Thus another of the important defences of the Chinese in advance of Canton had fallen; and the passage for our light squadron up to the provincial capital lay almost completely open. Our advanced ships had now been brought much nearer the city than the Chinese, or perhaps even our own officers, had previously thought possible.

On the 16th, Captains Herbert, Bourchier, Bethune, and other officers, came on board the Nemesis at Whampoa, and proceeded along the upper channel towards the Macao passage. In the afternoon, the Nemesis joined the Modeste, which was still at anchor below the fort. A passage was soon cleared through the rafts, and she pursued her course, with the object of taking up a chop or despatch from Captain Elliot, addressed to the imperial commissioner, and at the same time to explore the nature of the passage above the fort. But, scarcely had she passed the stakes, when she struck heavily upon a sunken rock. This obstacle, however, was not situated in the broadest and most frequented channel, which leads past the fort on its eastern side, but in the narrower passage on the western side of the fort. The concussion made the vessel tremble; and, had she been built of wood instead of iron, she could hardly have escaped some severe injury. After considerable delay and exertion she was got off again. Be-

fore she advanced further towards Canton, it was thought proper to hoist a flag of truce; but, knowing at the same time, how little the Chinese respect for it could be depended on, a division of armed boats was taken in tow, in case of meeting with any sudden attack from the enemy.

Upwards of a mile further on, a newly-constructed field-work was discovered upon a rising ground, surrounded and partially concealed by trees. It was situated upon the left bank of the river, and was called the Birdsnest Fort. In front of it, the passage of the river was obstructed by a strong raft, reaching quite across it, and well moored; while, further on, just at the point of junction with the Canton river, a number of war-junks and armed boats were drawn up for its defence, nearly opposite Shameen, which is about half a mile above the factories.

The steamer was now stopped; and it was resolved to send a boat, with a flag of truce flying, in order to attempt to carry up Captain Elliot's letter. The flag of truce was also flying upon the Nemesis and all the other boats. Captain Bethune, having undertaken this charge, had just pushed off from the steamer, when a shower of grape-shot was discharged from the Birdsnest Fort. Fortunately no injury was done, as the shot passed over the boats; but the flags of truce were immediately lowered, and the guns of the Nemesis, and also those of the boats, opened fire upon the fort, in retaliation of the hostile act of the Chinese. At the same time, the junks ahead, and also the battery at Shameen, commenced a distant straggling fire, much beyond effective range. A rocket thrown from the Nemesis fell into the middle of the fort, and partially set fire to the buildings, and it would have been very easy to have carried the works by assault; but orders to the contrary were given by Captain Herbert, who was not desirous of carrying hostilities further, without the sanction of Captain Elliot. He immediately returned to Whampoa, in order to bring up some of the light squadron, with a view to advance, if necessary, upon Canton itself.

There were good reasons for not wasting time at the fort that evening; but, unfortunately, it is the practice of the Chinese always to claim a victory, and to report upon it accordingly to the Emperor, on every occasion on which any portion of our forces withdrew from before any of their defences, without having first occupied them. In the present instance, it was reported, that even a devil-ship had been driven away by the imperial troops from the Birdsnest Fort, and the high distinction of a peacock's feather was conferred upon the commandant of it, as a reward for his courage!

Upon reaching Whampoa again the same evening in the Nemesis, Captain Herbert received a communication from Captain

Elliot, respecting the measures to be adopted in consequence of the insult which had been offered to the flag of truce. Captain Elliot pointed out to him that the "Chinese knew perfectly well the value of the white flag, for they had often taken advantage of it to communicate with our forces:" and he then dwelt upon the "necessity of resisting this aggression with all the promptitude which might be compatible with considerations of a military nature." At the same time, he requested Captain Herbert to "confine his operations to the fort from which the shot was actually fired." It would seem, however, that Captain Herbert took upon himself the responsibility of the operations against Canton, which are shortly to be described; for he expressed himself in one of his despatches to the effect, that he had "found himself forced to make his arrangements without any instructions from his superior officer, Sir Gordon Bremer; but that he felt that he had no alternative but to resent with all promptitude the insult offered to the flag of truce." Arrangements were accordingly made, without loss of time, for proceeding to active operations.

The want of interpreters was at this time very much felt by Captain Herbert. He repeatedly applied for some one to be sent up to him in that capacity; and he wrote to the commodore, "that there was not a single person in the advanced squadron who understood a word of the language." The difficulty of procuring supplies was consequently very much increased, particularly as the authorities at Canton had forbidden the people to carry provisions to the squadron. The difficulty of obtaining accurate information of any kind was very great; but it had been already positively ascertained that the authorities of Canton had prevented a single chest of tea or any other article of export, from leaving Canton, long before even the attack upon the Macao Fort; and it was also known that a considerable body of Tartar troops had already reached the city. In short, all the information which could be obtained fully confirm the impression conveyed by the insult to the flag of truce, that the Chinese were making active preparations for the resumption of hostilities, and that the sooner we had recourse to active measures the better.

On the morning of the 17th, Captain Elliot and suite, together with Captains Herbert, Bourchier, and other officers, proceeded in the Nemesis towards the Macao passage, or Broadway river, where she rejoined the vessels at anchor below the Macao Fort. It was a favourite scheme of Captain Elliot, at this time, to endeavour to command all the lines of water-communication to the westward of Canton, so as to cut off *the supplies* from the city, and stop the local trade.

The rivers or creeks, and their branches in this neighbourhood, are extremely numerous. Some little distance below the Macao Fort a considerable branch turns off to the westward, and leads, at the distance of several miles, up to Tatshan. About a mile and a half within this passage another channel leads off to the northward, in the direction of the Canton river, which it enters a little above Shameen, on the opposite side. This channel was narrow, and not navigable, except for boats. The Hyacinth had, on the previous day, been pushed into the Tatshan passage, nearly as far as the point where the smaller channel turns off to Canton; but there she stuck, owing to the shoalness of the water.

The Nemesis, therefore, having in tow a division of boats, was now moved up the Tatshan passage, and shortly communicated with the Hyacinth, which was at anchor there. She then turned up the northern branch, which was afterwards called the Fatee creek, in the hope of being able to push up to the Canton river in that direction, and so cut off all the Chinese boats which might attempt to escape up the river. After proceeding some distance, the water was found too shallow and the passage very narrow, and she was compelled to return, having captured on her way a very handsome mandarin-boat. In the evening she rejoined the squadron in the Macao passage, where the Commodore, Sir Gordon Bremer, had just arrived in the Madagascar steamer, which had been sent for him. The dispositions had already been made by Captain Herbert, for the capture of all the remaining defences in advance of Canton, on the following day; and Sir Gordon Bremer was therefore unwilling to disturb the arrangements.

The 18th March, 1841, will ever be remembered as the great day upon which the city of Canton was first humbled; and the whole of the works which had been erected for its defence, along its river front, were captured by H.M. naval forces.*

* The vessels engaged were the
Modeste, Commander Eyres;
Algerine, Lieutenant Mason;
Starling, Lieutenant Kellett;
Herald, Captain Nias (later in the day;)
Hebe and Louisa Tenders, Mr. Quin and Mr. Carmichael;
Together with the steamers
Nemesis, W. H. Hall, R.N.; and
Madagascar, Mr. Dicey.

A large flotilla of boats, from the squadron generally, was placed under the command of Captain Bourchier, assisted by Captain Bethune, and was formed in four divisions, three of which were under the orders of Commanders Barlow and Clarke, and Lieutenant Coulson, and the fourth commanded by Captain Belcher and Captain Warren. The whole together must have

Mention has already been made of the almost innumerable boats which crowd most of the rivers of China, and perhaps none more so than that of Canton, upon which it is stated that there is a floating population, permanently living on the water, of no less than 40,000 souls. They are the small traders, hucksters, fishermen, and public carriers of the country; and always appear an industrious and contented portion of the people. Of course, the numerous body of smugglers, belong to this class. It was said that one of the most influential smugglers, whose avocations had long been winked at by the authorities, who were themselves participators in the gains, had been suddenly arrested, and threatened with the confiscation of all his property, and even death; but that a free pardon was offered to him if he would contrive to collect together all the best boats, and furnish the men with arms; putting them under the orders of the mandarins, to co-operate for the defence of the city. Accordingly, a vast number of these boats were seen at a distance, drawn up in a curved line across the river, at the mouth of the Macao passage. Besides these, it was known that some gun-boats, completely formed after European models, and thoroughly coppered, had been equipped by the government. Our flotilla of men-of-war-boats was therefore to be employed in pursuing and destroying this legion of the enemy.

At half-past 11, the Nemesis commenced the attack upon the little battery, called by us the Birdsnest Fort, which she had engaged two days before. She opened her fire of guns and rockets with effect, and the Chinese returned the fire with spirit for some time; but the Modeste and Madagascar joined in the attack, and it is not surprising that the fort was very soon silenced. Some of the boats immediately pushed off to make themselves masters of the place, and the Chinese were chased out of it in great confusion. Another field-work, almost close to it, was also captured at the same time. They were found to mount upwards of 30 guns, which, together with the magazine, were destroyed.

In the meantime the Starling and Algerine had contrived to force a passage through the raft, and had scarcely got to the other side, when a small sand-bag battery, and several war-junks opened their fire upon them, very near the point of junction with the

amounted to little less than 40 in number. Upwards of 50 naval officers took part in the operations of this large flotilla alone; the services of which were likely to be of the greatest importance in capturing and destroying the immense flotilla of Chinese boats, of all forms and sizes, which had been pressed into the service of the government for the defence of Canton.

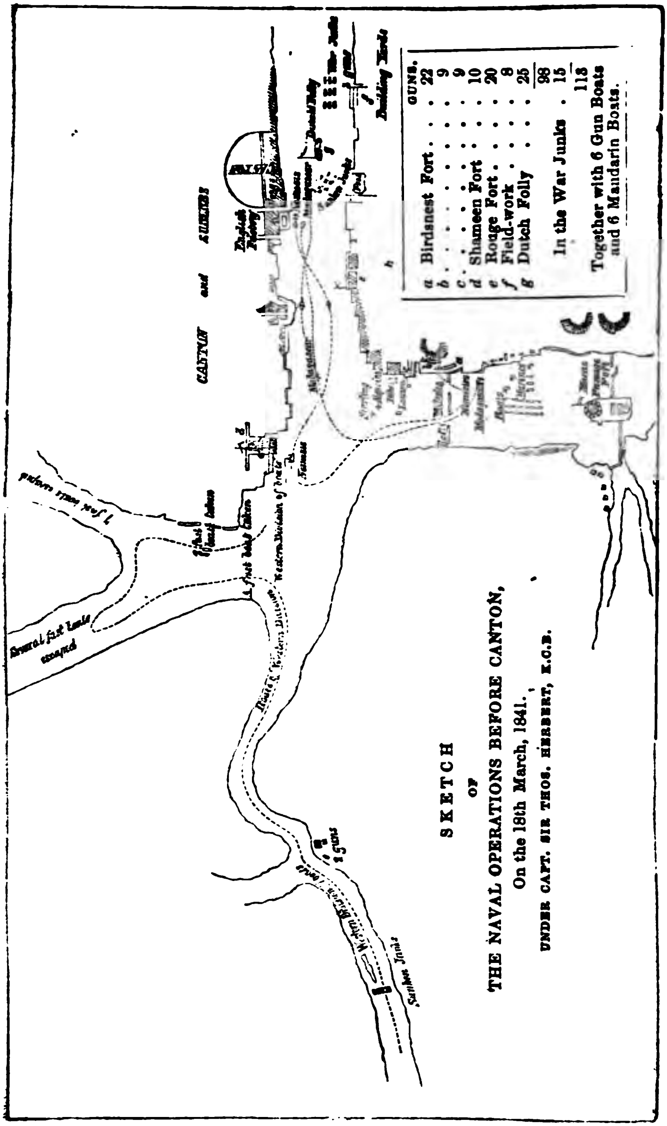
Canton river. The Hebe and Louisa took part in this affair: and the Nemesis came up as soon as the lower forts had been silenced; part of the flotilla of boats, under Captain Bourchier, also arrived, and the sand-battery was soon carried, while the war-junks and the flotilla of Chinese armed boats already began to disperse.

A strong fort opposite to the city, mounting 20 guns, called the Rouge Fort, was next silenced, but was not taken possession of immediately. Later in the day, however, a boat from the Nemesis, under Lieutenant Pedder, was sent to hoist our flag upon it; and another party from the Sulphur landed nearly at the same time under Captain Belcher. The large Chinese flotilla before described, was pursued up the river by the Nemesis and the boats, and was soon in a state of indescribable confusion. At this moment, the division of boats under Captain Belcher and Captain Warren succeeded in getting through the Fatee creek, and, coming suddenly down upon the Chinese boats, which were already so closely pursued, destroyed an immense number of them. Some were driven ashore, some were sunk, and a few escaped up the creeks in the rear of the town.

The Nemesis, in the meantime, had opened her fire upon the Shameen Fort, in the western suburbs of the city; and, under cover of her guns, Captain Bethune put off from her; and a division of boats, with Captains Belcher and Warren at their head, also landed and took the fort, after some resistance. It mounted ten guns.

While these operations were going on in the upper part of the river, the Madagascar had gone down and taken up a position not far from the Dutch Folly, which was a circular fort, in the middle of the river, directly opposite to the city, mounting 25 guns. In the front of it a number of junks laden with stones had been sunk. A small sand-battery of three guns, close to the naval arsenal, which is on the south side of the river, was at the same time carried by another division of boats. Four of the new Chinese gun-boats were also captured.

A little before one o'clock, about an hour after the first shot of the day had been fired, and after all the detached forts and batteries, except the so-called Dutch Folly had been taken, Captain Elliot came on board the Nemesis, and desired that he might be conveyed to the British factory, with *a flag of truce* hoisted, it being clearly his intention to endeavour to treat at once, without further employment of force. However, scarcely had she got down opposite to the European factories, and only within distant range of the Dutch Folly, when the latter opened fire on her in spite of the flag of truce. Instantly it was hauled



SKETCH
OF
THE NAVAL OPERATIONS BEFORE CANTON,
On the 18th March, 1841.
UNDER CAPT. SIR THOS. HERBERT, K.C.B.

down, the fire was returned, and the result was that the fort was soon silenced.

The Nemesis then proceeded some little way down the river, towards the Dutch Folly, in company with several boats of the squadron. This circular fort was taken possession of by a party of marines and seamen; and not far from it, four new gun-boats, built according to European models, were boarded and taken, their crews having abandoned them. The Chinese naval forces offered, in fact, little or no resistance throughout the day; and even their forts, which fired with considerable spirit at a distance, were soon abandoned by their garrisons, when there was any certainty of their coming to close quarters with our men.

At half-past one, Captain Elliot being still on board the Nemesis, she was ordered to return close to the factories, where Captain Hall landed, accompanied by Mr. Morrison, and hastened at once to the British factory, both being equally eager to take possession of it again. In a few moments the British flag was displayed in triumph, with three cheers, which were returned by the steamer and boats. At the same time, Captain Belcher also hastened up towards the factory with a party of men, and was preparing to hoist the colours upon the flag-staff in front of the Factory, when at that very moment they were waved from the window of the factory, by Captain Hall himself.

As all the defences had now been taken, and Canton lay completely at our mercy, one would hardly have expected that any further resistance would have been made. But the Chinese have a fancy of their own for renewing a combat in detached parties, long after all possibility of doing good by it has ceased. On many occasions during the war, they suffered severely and justly for thus uselessly harrassing our men after the day was over, and when our troops were in possession of all the enemy's positions.

On this occasion, as Captain Hall and his party were returning to their boat, a body of soldiers rushed out upon them, but were driven back to a narrow street called Hog Lane, beyond the British factory, and were even pursued for some distance up that narrow passage. Many of them were killed while retreating, although they crouched down behind their large ratan shields for shelter at each discharge. It was thought imprudent to pursue them far, as in so narrow a space, with low houses on one side, and a dead wall on the other, the retreat of the pursuers might have been cut off. Captain Belcher and his party were also attacked at the same time, and put the enemy to flight with some loss, pursuing them as far as was prudent. The Chinese shewed

no further disposition to come to close quarters, and our men returned to their boats without further molestation. One man belonging to the Nemesis was wounded during the affray.

Little now remained to be done but to take possession of and destroy some of the boats and junks which had been overlooked in the hurry of more important matters. Late in the evening, the Nemesis anchored in company with the squadron, off the western suburbs of the city, nearly a mile above the factory. The flags of truce were still flying, and it must be admitted that greater forbearance towards the Chinese, or more unwillingness to proceed to the infliction of suffering upon the people or city of Canton, could not possibly have been exhibited than on this memorable day of the first capture of Canton. Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer, got up, towards the close of the action, in the Hyacinth's gig, just in time to see the British flag displayed from the Factory. The Herald also arrived as a reinforcement, in the latter part of the day. One officer and six or seven men wounded were the only casualties on our side, throughout all the operations of the 18th of March.

It was said that several desultory outbreaks of the mob occurred during the evening of this day, which were with some difficulty suppressed by the police. They were in most instances the outbursts of the evil passions of the demoralized mob of Canton, the worst of all the subjects of China, attracted to the centre of foreign commerce by the hope of profit, or the opportunity of exercising their bad ingenuity. In no part of China has the feeling of hostility to the foreigner prevailed more strongly against us than at Canton. In many other districts, the English force was even welcomed, or, at all events, received without insult or violence.

During the whole of the following day, the 19th, nothing of importance was done, either as to the further progress of hostilities, or as to the demanding any specified terms from the Chinese. It is easy to guess what interpretation was put upon our inactivity by the authorities and the people. The motive on our part seems to have been principally one of pure compassion, and an unwillingness to take the initiative of *proposing* terms to the Chinese, which it was their part, as the conquered, to solicit.

After the lapse of one entire day, Captain Elliot and suite were carried down to the Factory in the Nemesis, on the morning of the 20th, where they landed soon after mid-day. There could be little doubt that something important would now be settled. Captain Elliot was bent upon getting the trade opened, and no less so upon bringing about a cessation of hostilities.

He was not altogether wrong, perhaps, even in the slowness of his proceedings, considering the extraordinary circumstances in which he was placed. He seems to have merely miscalculated the importance, or perhaps the exigency of the political crisis in which he found himself placed. He probably viewed the whole matter almost exclusively as a commercial question.

The first public notification was by a circular dated at the hall of the British Factory, by which it was announced that a suspension of hostilities had been agreed upon between the imperial commissioner, Yang-Fang, and Captain Elliot. It was further agreed that the trade of the port of Canton should at once be opened. With regard to the opium trade, it was settled that no bond, such as had formerly been demanded by Lin, should now be required, but that the same liabilities should be incurred by any British subject detected in the act of introducing any unlawful goods, as would follow the same offences in England. Captain Elliot also distinctly intimated that "pending the final settlement of affairs between the two countries, the usual port-charges and other dues should continue to be paid as heretofore."

All those who had watched the course of events, and had studied in the slightest degree the Chinese character, could only look upon this temporary arrangement as the mere preliminary of the resumption of hostilities, not as the settlement of peace. In itself, this insignificant demand was almost equivalent to an acknowledgment of failure. That it was so viewed by Sir Gordon Bremer is evident, from the notice which he issued on the next day, the 21st, dated at the Bogue, in which he declared that all vessels proceeding to Whampoa, under this agreement, must do so at the risk of the possible resumption of hostilities.

On the side of the Chinese a proclamation was issued by Yang, as joint commissioner, (the other two had not yet arrived,) to the effect that, "as Elliot had represented that all he wanted was peace and permission to trade as formerly, and as all trade depended upon the cherishing goodness of the celestial court, therefore it was right *now* to permit the English to trade as well as other people, in order to shew a compassionate regard." It was further added, that henceforth the people were carefully to look to and well treat the merchant vessels at Whampoa, as well as the merchants at Canton.

Such, then, were the slender grounds upon which it was agreed that our force should be withdrawn from before Canton, after all the treasure and labour, and some loss of life, which had been expended in bringing it there.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The agreement for the suspension of hostilities, made at Canton by Captain Elliot, on the 20th March, 1841, was only entered into with *one* of the three newly-appointed imperial commissioners, Yang-Fang being, in fact, the only one who had then arrived. Lung-Wan, the principal joint-commissioner, and Yih-Shan, the Tartar-general associated with him, did not arrive until about three weeks afterwards, when they brought with them a large body of troops imperfectly armed and little organized. The news of what had already happened must have astonished them beyond all conception. In the mean time trade went on with great activity, but much caution, at Canton. It was generally believed, nevertheless, that the temporary calm upon the surface would be of short duration, and the growing storm upon the horizon gave a warning to all who were interested in passing events to set their house in order.

Rumours were abroad of extensive preparations being actively in progress by the Chinese, somewhere or other above Canton; but the precise situation of them was not discovered until the second attack was made upon the city, in the month of May. It was said that numerous fire-rafts were constructing, war-junks equipping, and troops collecting; and it was little doubted that, as soon as the principal mercantile transactions (which were as important to the Chinese as they were to the foreigners) should be completed, a renewal of hostilities would take place. In the meantime it was satisfactory to the European residents to know that as the greater part of our ships of war were at Whampoa, or in that neighbourhood, many of them could be speedily brought up to Canton; and, moreover, the Modeste, Algerine, Hyacinth, and Herald, were still at anchor, much nearer to the city. They had only withdrawn to the Macao passage, at the distance of a couple of miles from Canton, after the commencement of the truce.

The Nemesis meanwhile had gone down to Macao, whither she conveyed Captain Elliot and his suite, and took the opportunity of the temporary pause to complete her necessary repairs. Sir Gordon Bremer, at this time, thought it right to go in person to Calcutta, to represent the state of affairs to the Governor-General, and to request reinforcements. He sailed on or about the 31st March, in the H. C. steamer, Queen; leaving Captain Sir Le Fleming Senhouse in command of the naval forces during his absence.

For some time after the commencement of the truce, the native inhabitants and traders of the city, some of whom, however, had retired from it altogether, continued to pursue their ordinary avocations with some appearance of returning confidence. A proclamation was issued by the governor, tending to allay any remaining apprehensions, and similar pacific assurances were addressed by the authorities repeatedly both to the native and foreign residents, even till the very day when their scarcely concealed projects of vengeance were to be attempted.

On the 5th April, Captain Elliot again returned to the factory at Canton, and, during his short residence there, of ten or twelve days, the authorities and the new commissioners succeeded in so far blinding the plenipotentiary to all their hostile purposes, that he himself publicly declared that he was perfectly satisfied with all their "*assurances* of good faith, and their dispositions to fulfil their engagements." The day before he left Canton again—namely, on the 16th April—he expressed himself decidedly to the same purport, in a public proclamation, addressed, however, rather to the Chinese people than to his own countrymen, but calculated likewise to reassure the latter, should they be unable to form any judgment for themselves. And he moreover assured Sir Le Fleming Senhouse that "he entertained no uneasiness for life and property at Canton."

Captain Elliot left the Factory on the following day, and returned to Macao: not, however, without first urging upon Sir Le Fleming Senhouse the propriety of removing our ships further from the city. He requested that the vessels which were before Shameen should be moved down to the Macao fort, in order to shew our peaceful disposition; and he recommended that proper respect should be manifested to the government, and that the officers in command should do all in their power to uphold its character in the sight of the people, "compatible with the paramount necessity of keeping awake a lively sense that renewed ill faith would be responded to by an immediate blow. All this had very little effect in rendering the foreign community less apprehensive of a resumption of hostilities. For a very brief space appearances were favourable, but fresh troops soon began pouring into the town; and some of the natives have since admitted that they even knew that, in secret, fresh cannon were casting, and extensive preparations of every kind urged on in the quietest possible manner, evidently with a view to some sudden and unwarned explosion.

The Emperor's proclamations to all the maritime districts continued to breathe a spirit of uncompromising war; and the governor of the province of Chekeang, (under whom are the Chusan

Islands,) the venerable Elepoo, was severely reproved for having permitted the barbarians to *retire* from Chusan under Keshen's treaty, instead of having advanced to *drive* them out by force, and to effect their destruction Thus, at the commencement of May, the speedy resumption of hostilities seemed inevitable; and the report brought from the northward by the Columbine, Captain Clarke, of the preparations which were making by the Chinese, and of the refusal of the authorities of Chekeang to receive from that officer a despatch which he had been ordered and sent expressly to deliver, tended to confirm every previous impression.* Nor was this all. Information was brought from Canton that, on the 30th April, no less than forty boats had passed in front of the Factories, having on board at least two thousand troops; that they proceeded a little lower down, and landed at a short distance from the Dutch Folly, and thence marched into the city.

An explanation of this circumstance was demanded, and an evasive reply was sent by the Kwang-chow-foo, or prefect, to Captain Elliot. A few days afterwards, it was distinctly reported that the English at Canton were to be suddenly attacked, and all their property destroyed. And, on the 8th May, no less than seventy more boats passed before the Factories, bringing down full three thousand troops to the city, and these were said to be the advanced guard of a large army. It was known, also, that a vast number of fire-rafts were preparing, and several hundred divers were said to be in training, who were to go down and bore holes in our ships at night; or even, as the Chinese privately reported, to carry down with them some combustible material which would burn under water and destroy our vessels.

The Nemesis was, during all this time, night and day, incessantly employed in carrying letters and despatches, as well as officers, from one place to another. Constant communications were kept up; Sir Le Fleming Senhouse and Captain Elliot were continually passing and repassing to and from different points within the river—frequently up to Whampoa, or even to the neighbourhood of the very Factories at Canton.

At the same period, arrangements for the complete settlement and government of Hong-Kong were continued without intermission. Officers were appointed, a magistrate's court formed, pro-

* The despatch was believed to relate principally to the supposed death of Captain Stead, of the Pestonjee Bomanjee transport, who had been attacked, and was supposed to have been murdered, near Keeto Point, on one of the islands near Chusan, after the restoration of that island to the Chinese. He landed, to make inquiries, being in ignorance of what had happened, and surprised to see Chusan harbour in possession of the Chinese.

clamations issued, and establishments of various kinds commenced. In short, it seemed very evident that we had no intention of restoring the island to the Chinese, whatever might be the reply of the Emperor to Keshen's treaty. Preparations had already been commenced at Hong-Kong for the advance of our force upon Amoy, under Sir Hugh Gough, with a view to carry on hostilities further to the northward; but they were now temporarily suspended, in order to meet the approaching crisis at Canton.

If anything had been wanting to confirm the rumour, not only of the extensive preparations of the Chinese government to recommence the attack, but also to indicate the disposition of the people of Canton towards us, it was to be found in a curious address, or chop, publicly circulated in the city, and even posted upon its walls. It purported to express the sentiments of the people themselves, or to be an address from that portion which claimed to be most patriotic to the other portion which might possibly be less so. It was intended to inflame the public mind against us, but it was not sealed or *apparently* sanctioned by the government. All this was designed, of course, to frighten the barbarians; and although it professed to be a mere ebullition of the spirit of the people, there is little doubt that the government were cognizant of it. This is rendered more probable by the circumstance that, only a few days afterwards, the prefect of the city issued distinct orders to the elders of the people, that they should cause them to remove their wives and children, with all their moveable property, from the neighbourhood of the river.

At length, even Captain Elliot himself began to catch a glimmering of the truth, which seemed to steal but slowly upon his unwilling eyes. On the 10th of May he resolved to go in person to Canton in the Nemesis, and, in order the better to impress the Chinese with the opinion which he retained of their good faith, he even took up Mrs. Elliot with him—probably the first time an English female had set foot in Canton.

The next morning the Nemesis was moved down to the Macao, or Broadway Passage, about three quarters of a mile from the Factories. Captain Elliot, as soon as he landed at the Factory, sought an interview with the Kwang-chow-foo, or prefect, and demanded certain explanations from him, which evidently embarrassed him not a little. The answers were evasive and unsatisfactory; previously-lurking suspicions were more than confirmed, and Captain Elliot left the Factory that same evening, *preferring to sleep on board the Nemesis.*

No time was now to be lost in seeking a conference with the naval and military commanders-in-chief, who were then at Hong-Kong; and, accordingly, on the following morning, the 12th,

the Nemesis was ordered to convey him, with all speed, down the river to that place, a communication being made, on his way down, to Captain Herbert, commanding the advanced squadron at Whampoa, who was already prepared for an approaching crisis. The result of the conference held at Hong-Kong the same day was, that the expedition to Amoy was to be positively postponed, and the whole disposable force moved once more towards Canton.

Hong-Kong was now the scene of general bustle and activity, a new disposition of the forces was made, and every measure adopted for their speedy junction as near as possible to Canton. By the judicious exertions of Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, and the hearty co-operation of all his officers, eager once more for active employment, the whole fleet of men-of-war and transports, with all the troops on board, were soon got ready. Every man that could be spared, except the invalids and convalescents, was embarked; and every ship of war, except the Druid, which was left for the protection of the harbour, was under orders for the Canton river. On the 18th and 19th, having been a little delayed by calms, they all got away in admirable order, full of high hope and promise that now, at length, they were to become masters of the great southern emporium of foreign commerce.

Captain Elliot now once more proceeded to Canton, as usual, in the Nemesis, which took him up in a very few hours. He returned to his quarters in the Factory; but, so incontrovertible were the evidences of the hostile intentions of the Chinese, and so strong was the apprehension of the momentary bursting forth of some treacherous plot, that the Nemesis, which was the only vessel at hand, was kept cleared for action, with the guns loaded, steam up, and the cable in readiness to slip, although no immediate danger was visible.

Captain Elliot now very properly advised the merchants, by public proclamation, to make their arrangements, so as to be prepared to leave Canton at a moment's notice. On the following day, the 20th, the Nemesis was moved close up to the Factories, or a little above them, for the protection of the whole foreign community. It was already discovered that the western battery above the city at Shameen had been repaired and armed at least ten days before; that a large encampment had been formed to the eastward of the town, for some of the newly-arrived troops; while new works had also been erected on the river-side in the same direction—that is, below the town, in the rear of the French Folly. Tartar troops were still pouring into the city in great numbers, while the citizens themselves were hastening out of it with precipitation, carrying away goods and chattels of all kinds; confusion was evident where everything is usually so

orderly; and it is said that soldiers were even seen moving about with matchlocks, and their slow matches ready lighted in their hands.

Our own forces were by this time on the way up, the troops from Hong-Kong had already passed the Bogue, and the light squadron had begun to move from Whampoa. Still Captain Elliot was in the Factory, and still a great portion of the merchants remained at their posts, ready to decamp at a moment's notice, yet anxiously devoting every doubtful moment of delay to the purpose of arranging, as well as they could, their complicated affairs.

It was of course known to the authorities that our forces were already moving up the river; their own plans, therefore, were necessarily hastened, in the hope that by a simultaneous attack by fire-rafts on our shipping at different points, as well as on the Factories, they might get completely the upper hand of us before our forces could be concentrated upon the city. Early in the morning, therefore, Capt. Elliot recommended in strong terms, that all foreigners should leave Canton before sunset. During this whole day, the consternation among the Chinese in the neighbourhood of the Factories, increased every hour; shops were closed, goods removed, and several of our officers who went on shore to see what was going on, were prevented by guards of Chinese soldiers from passing through any of the usually frequented streets beyond the immediate proximity of the Factories.

The crisis was now at its height. Many of the merchants had withdrawn to Whampoa several days before, and in the course of this day, all the rest (except two American gentlemen) got away in boats. The small party of marines which were with Capt. Elliot, in the British Factory, were withdrawn by orders of Capt. Herbert, who had come up from Whampoa as commander of the advanced squadron, and before sunset Capt. Elliot himself, with his suite, once more abandoned the Factory, and came on board the Nemesis. Capt. Herbert, however, removed on board the Modeste. And now, the flag of England was finally lowered at Canton, where it was never again hoisted until long after the conclusion of peace.

In the mean time, the Pylades and Modeste, together with the Algerine, had been moved closer up to the town. for mutual protection. The Nemesis still remained a little above the Factories, together with the Louisa, Capt. Elliot's own cutter, and Mr. Dent's schooner, the Aurora. A dull and ominous suspense reigned on every side; a general stagnation of ordinary intercourse; and that noble river, usually so busy with the hum of

men, and, as it were, alive with innumerable boats of every shape and fashion, and that active, busy, almost countless population, which make their home upon its friendly waters, and seem happy in their thrifty industry, all now were dull, and almost still with a portentous dreariness.

The sun at length set gloomily. The darkness of the night was remarkable; and one better adapted for surprising an enemy could hardly have been chosen. But, although the precise nature of their plans, or mode of attack was not known, yet enough had been clearly ascertained to render every possible precaution necessary. The Modeste lay somewhat higher up the river than the Nemesis, and was likely to be the first to discover the approach of an enemy in that quarter, whatever might be their design. On board the Nemesis no precaution was omitted; double sentries were placed; the men below were all ordered to lie down ready equipped for instant service; even the fires were laid and *lighted* in the furnaces, so that steam could be got up in a few minutes if requisite. All who could be spared retired to rest, but not to sleep. The feeling of excitement was too general to permit repose. Capt. Elliot laid himself down in his cloak upon the quarter-deck, while Capt. Hall, ever on the alert, stretched himself upon the bridge between the paddle-boxes, ready at a second's warning to give the necessary orders. Capt. Herbert, also, who was at that time on board the Modeste, had fully impressed every one with the necessity of omitting no precaution against the impending danger. Equal activity and similar precautions were adopted on board all the other ships, and already the Herald and Calliope had been moved up the river, to within a short distance of Canton.

CHAPTER XIX.

During the early part of the evening, complete stillness prevailed; nothing whatever betokened an immediate attack. It was about eleven o'clock when the alarm was given. One of the sentries of the Modeste, which was a little in advance of the other vessels, first discovered several large, dark-looking masses dropping down with the stream. Being hailed by the sentry, the Chinese who had charge of them immediately set fire to the combustible materials which they contained. The flames, bursting forth suddenly, spread the alarm, and pointed out the danger to the other vessels, while it was still remote. There was a general

beat to quarters; steam was rapidly got up on board the Nemesis, the fires having been lighted early in the evening; the anchor was weighed, and, in the short space of NINE MINUTES from the time the alarm was given, the Nemesis was under weigh, and under command of the helm.

The premature discovery of the design, *before* it was actually commenced, disconcerted the plans of the Chinese, and caused them to set fire to the rafts sooner than had been intended. The derangement of a grand scheme at its outset embarrasses all the subsequent details, and is apt to discourage all those who are employed to carry them into execution. The moment they cease to act inconcert, the failure of every part of the scheme is certain. Thus, on the present occasion, in consequence of some of the fire-rafts being ignited too soon, the greater part of the rest were not ignited at all; so that, out of the immense number, about a hundred which had been prepared, not above ten or a dozen were set on fire or sent down against our vessels at Canton. Some, however, were sent adrift against the Alligator, at anchor near Howqua's Fort.

These fire-rafts were ingeniously constructed to effect their object, being composed of boats chained together in twos and threes, so that, drifting down with the stream, they might hang across the bows of a ship, so as not to be easily got clear. They were filled with all kinds of combustible materials. Numerous junks and smaller boats were barely seen in the distance higher up the river, said to have a large body of troops on board for the purpose of trying to board our ships during the confusion which it was expected would take place. But the moment they found that they were likely to meet with a warm reception, they did their best to get away again as fast as they could.

The Nemesis ran up at full speed towards the fire-rafts in order to assist the boats of the squadron in towing them away. Many of them, however, drifted fairly on shore, and set fire to the suburbs of the town, causing much greater alarm to the Chinese than they did to those whom they were designed to annihilate. It was a grand spectacle, in the sullen darkness of the night, to see these floating masses of fire drifting about the river, and shewing, by their own reflected light, the panic-stricken parties of Chinese who had charge of them, trying to escape towards the shore, which few of them were destined to reach. Some threw themselves overboard, were carried down the stream, and their struggles were soon ended; others were shot at random by our musketry, the moment they were discovered by our men, betrayed by the light of the fires they had themselves kindled.

So far the Chinese scheme proved a total failure. Nor was the

attempt more successful upon the Alligator, off Howqua's Fort. The attack was to have been simultaneously made upon all our ships in different parts of the river, both at Whampoa and at the Bogue; but, owing to some error, or more probably, the premature explosion of their plan at Canton, the attack on the Wellesley, at the Bogue, did not take place until nearly midnight of the 24th, three days afterwards. It was, however, well concerted, and very formidable, as it comprised a flotilla of little less than twenty vessels, chained in twos and threes; many of these had gunpowder as well as other combustibles on board. It was not without great exertion of Commander Fletcher and the few officers and men remaining on board (most of them being absent on service under Capt. Maitland, with the advanced squadron) that they were towed clear of the ship, by the only three boats she had left. In no instance was any damage done to our ships.

But the plan of the Chinese was not limited to their exploits with fire-rafts. The new batteries before spoken of, as having been erected by Yihshan, just above Canton, towards the river side, opened a heavy fire upon our ships, just when it was imagined they would have been embarrassed by the fire-vessels. The artillery now began to roar on both sides, although, owing to the midnight darkness, it was solely directed by the flashing of each other's guns.

The Nemesis had now run so close in shore, that she was able clearly to distinguish, by the light of the batteries and the reflection of the fire in the suburbs, the different Tartar officers rallying and encouraging their men to fight the guns. The two small vessels which lay off the Factories (the Louisa and Aurora) were at one time in imminent danger, as the Chinese had actually brought down to the river side a very large gun, and planted it within good range, to blow them out of the water. They could not be moved until the tide turned: but, by alternately veering out cable and shortening it in again, so as to alter the range and balk the Chinese gunners during the darkness, they managed to escape with trifling damage. In the morning they were moved out of danger with the turn of tide. At intervals the firing was kept up until daylight. At length the sun rose brightly upon the scene of midnight encounter; and now the wrecks of the still burning fire-vessels, the crumbling batteries on shore, the suburbs of the town in flames, the deserted river, and some trifling damages on board one or two of our own vessels, bore witness to what had happened.

The attack upon the Shameen battery was now renewed, and it was soon silenced by the fire of the vessels. A few shot and shell were thrown into the adjoining suburbs, where the fire had

broken out; but some of the Chinese soldiers, who had already abandoned their guns, when they found that our men did not land immediately to take possession of the works, actually returned and fired another round or two from the Shameen battery. They were soon, however, driven out, and eight fine large brass guns were captured.

It was during these operations at Canton, that Captain Elliot and Captain Herbert narrowly escaped a very dangerous accident, which might have proved fatal to many, had it not been fortunately averted by the personal coolness and resolution of the captain of the Nemesis. A Congreve rocket, which had been placed in the proper tube from which it is fired, and had been already ignited, accidentally hung within it, instead of being projected, as intended. In another second it would have burst in the tube itself, and must have killed or wounded all those who were standing near it upon the bridge between the paddle-boxes. With instant coolness and presence of mind, Captain Hall put his arm into the tube and forcibly pushed it out from behind, although the rush of fire which came out of it burnt his hand severely. Indeed, it was not done without great personal risk. It is difficult to calculate what disastrous results might not have followed, had the rocket burst in the tube, on board ship.

Just when all opposition at the Shameen battery had been overcome, an unlooked-for opportunity occurred of rendering signal service, by the discovery of the principal rendezvous of all the fire-rafts and men-of-war junks, whose place of retreat had hitherto been concealed. Every fresh report had confirmed the previous information that preparations of an extensive kind had been made by the Chinese higher up the river, but it was supposed to be at some place much more distant than was now found to be the case. The first thing which led to the discovery was the suspicious appearance of a large war-junk which suddenly came out from behind a point of land some way above the fort. Having fired one or two distant shots, she again withdrew out of sight.

The Nemesis instantly proceeded in search of the expected prize, accompanied by Captain Herbert and one of the Calliope's boats. The junk again stole out from her hiding place, but, the moment she observed the steamer coming towards her, she made off in all haste up a large creek, which turned round to the northward. About a mile or less within this passage, the whole Chinese fleet of war-junks, fire-rafts, boats, &c., was suddenly descried, to the number, probably, of more than a hundred. This was an exciting moment. The Chinese were thrown into the utmost consternation by the sudden approach of the steamer; and the more numerous were the junks and craft of all kinds, the greater

was the confusion into which they were thrown. Every shot now told upon the confused mass. The Chinese ran most of their boats ashore, in order to make their own escape; others tried to make their way up the creek, each striving to pass the other. Suddenly a small masked battery opened fire upon the steamer; but a few round shot, followed by grape, drove the Chinese from their guns, and served to disperse a small body of troops, who were drawn up in the rear. The water soon became too shallow for the steamer to proceed further, and she, therefore, came to anchor. A boat from the Herald, under the command of Lieut. Fisher, now joined, and, together with the boats of the Calliope and of the Nemesis, continued the pursuit, and destroyed or ran ashore an immense number of junks, fire-rafts, and fishing-boats of every kind. About 50 boats were found filled with combustibles, and were joined eight or nine together, having been destined to drift down with the tide upon our vessels. Many of the junks had troops on board, from distant parts of the empire, intended for the relief of the city.

The scene was extremely animating; numbers of the Chinese were scrambling ashore, or clinging to fragments of their boats or spars, as they floated about in the water. Some of the junks were burnt, and others blown up, but the precaution was taken to examine carefully every one of them before it was set on fire, in order to rescue any of the panic-stricken Chinese who might be trying to find concealment in it. But, in spite of this precaution, the structure of the junks afforded so many little hiding-places for the terrified Chinese, that as the fires gradually burnt more briskly, and took more certain effect upon the vessels, several poor fellows were observed to rush up from below, and then, unable to support the heat upon deck, to jump desperately overboard. Some of these swam easily on shore; others, who could not swim, remained clinging to the outside of the junk, or to the rudder, until the heat became insupportable, or the vessel itself blew up. In this way, some few necessarily perished, for it was not possible to save them all, owing to the small number of boats employed on our side, and the large number of those destroyed on theirs; besides which, the heat and danger were often too great to allow of approaching near enough to render timely assistance. Thus, in the short space of three hours, 43 war-junks were blown up, and 32 fire-rafts destroyed, besides smaller boats. Some which had been run ashore were left untouched.

This important encounter produced one very valuable result, as it led to the discovery of the most desirable landing-place for our troops, in the projected attack on the heights of Canton. This spot was distinctly seen and remarked upon by Captain Hall

and the different officers on board the Nemesis, and was particularly noticed by Captain Herbert, in his report of this affair to Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, written on the very same day. This is not a matter of slight moment, because all allusion to this circumstance was omitted in the public despatch of Sir Le Fleming Senhouse. In Captain Herbert's report, dated on the 22nd of May, on board the Nemesis, that officer, after having described the destruction of the numerous boats and fire-rafts, distinctly said :—"Their wrecks are lining both banks of the river nearly close up to Tsingpoo, *the landing-place*, from which a good approach appears to lead direct to the north gate of the city wall, not more than four miles distant, with *dry footing* the whole way." He also intimated that artillery might probably be brought there. Moreover, while Captain Hall was lying in bed with pain and fever from his wounded hand, the general, Sir Hugh Gough himself, and other officers, subsequently came down into his cabin, purposely to make inquiry concerning the landing-place and the country about it, such as it had been seen from the Nemesis.

On the following day, the 23rd, the Sulphur, under Captain Belcher, having with him the Druid's launch and several other boats, proceeded into the same creek in which Captain Herbert had found the landing-place the day before, and destroyed one or two junks and rafts which had been left the previous day, and some others which had returned after their first escape. Five junks and thirteen small boats were destroyed. The practicable landing-place at Tsingpoo was also reported on by that officer, and he added that he got himself hoisted up to the mast-head of a junk, sextant in hand, to get a look at the country, and observed the enemy encamped on the verge of a hill, but that he "*had not the slightest doubt* that they would have fled, had he advanced towards the hill." As it was, however, he was content with landing at the temple at Tsingpoo, and throwing into the river the five guns of the little masked battery which had opened on the Nemesis the day before, and had been silenced by her fire, but which Captain Herbert had not thought it worth his while to destroy, as the war-junks and fire-rafts claimed his more immediate attention Captain Belcher hastened down to the Blenheim the same evening, and reported what he had done to Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, "who," he says, (see Voyage of the Sulphur, p. 184 to 187,) "had been sitting up for him, and *seemed delighted beyond measure at what he heard.*"

To return to the Nemesis, as she came back towards the Factories, from the scene of her exploits at Tsingpoo on the previous day. The remarks of a gentleman who was at Canton at the time are curious enough. Speaking of what occurred, he says ;

"From time to time loud explosions were heard in that direction [Tsingpoo]; dense volumes of smoke rose up continually, both black and white, and announced some terrible work of destruction. After some time a general cheer burst forth from all those who were near me, as the Nemesis came in sight, just rounding the corner on her return, towing several boats after her, towards the Macao passage. It was an interesting and even ludicrous sight, as she approached, to observe the boats, as well as the vessel itself, decked out with Chinese flags, the men exhibiting their trophies with evident pride, some rigged out in every variety of Chinese dress, from mandarins downwards; some with Chinese caps, and others with Chinese tails, with which a whole boat's crew were decorated. It appears that, when they took prisoners, they merely cut off their tails, (a mark of deep disgrace to a Chinaman,) and let them go again about their business."

But the day was by no means ended yet; and, indeed, the business had commenced so early, (at dawn,) that even at this time it was little more than eight o'clock. And now comes a scene of a very different kind. The guard of marines had been withdrawn from the Factory, and the flag struck on the previous day. A vast quantity of property had already been removed, but much still remained, of considerable value, and much more was supposed to be left behind, of still greater importance. All this became an object of longing to the mob, to say nothing of any natural feeling of hostility, which was ready to vent itself upon something or other. Pillage now became the order of the day. There was a reckless destruction of property which could not be removed, even after every article of furniture, as well as merchandise, had been carried away. Doors and windows were soon disposed of, and the very staircases and stone floorings were broken up and destroyed. In the old Company's, or British Factory, the confusion was most terrible, because in it there remained a greater number of valuable objects to destroy. The beautiful chandeliers and fine looking-glasses were soon annihilated and carried off piecemeal, and the noble large marble statue which stood in the great hall served as an object of especial vengeance, as if it contained within itself the very germs or symbols of all the barbarian nations of the earth, and could communicate to them a portion of the insults now heaped upon it as it lay prostrate in the hall.

During the whole day the same mad scene of destruction was continued; and whatever still defied the hands of the infuriate mob was at length made to yield to the consuming power of fire. Not all the thirteen Hongs, however, were visited with this ter-

rible pillage; many of them escaped altogether, which is somewhat remarkable; but all those situated between the limits of Hog Lane and a small creek which runs into the river at the other end, were entirely destroyed, except the bare walls. Within this space were included the British, together with the Dutch and the Creek Factories, a very fine and extensive range of handsome buildings.

Towards the close of the day, when the work of destruction was nearly completed, down came, at length, the prefect of the city in person, attended by a large party of police. He now succeeded in driving away the main body of the mob, and then gave charge of the Factories to the Hong merchants, to whom all the buildings belonged, and who took possession of the little that remained, with the assistance of a number of their own hired labourers armed for the occasion.

The account given of this day's proceedings by a highly respectable American merchant, who imprudently remained behind the night before, is extremely valuable. Without going into minute details, it will suffice to mention, that Mr. Coolidge was taken prisoner, after being in great danger of being cut down, and was, with many insults, carried into the heart of the city. As he was marched along, he passed several bodies of soldiers and coolies, or day-labourers, hurrying down towards the Factories, and dragging guns along with them. As soon as he came near the head-quarters of the Tartar general, the crowd and movement increased; officers of every grade, grooms and messengers on horseback, hurrying to and fro, executioners and city-guards, together with strange troops from distant provinces, in every variety of costume—these were all huddled together, and jostled in the greatest bustle and confusion.

After some delay, he was carried, with every possible insult, before the criminal judge, and there, to his horror, he discovered several of his countrymen, who had been wounded and captured as they were trying to escape in a boat down the river. The sufferings and indignities they now underwent were extreme; nor did their assertion, that they were Americans, prove of much service to them, for they were told that, in that case, they "*ought to speak a different language and wear a different dress.*"

It is very certain, however, that the Chinese generally at Canton know perfectly well the difference between an American and an Englishman, politically. But, on the other hand, when an Englishman gets into trouble there he most commonly declares himself to be an American; and how could the Chinese prove that he is not so? But the national distinction is perfectly well defined, even in their own language; the Americans being called

the "people of the flowery flag," from the number of stars on it, while the English are known as the "red people," or "red-haired people," an appellation originally applied to the Dutch traders. The American prisoners remained in the condition I have described, exposed to every possible suffering in the common prison for nearly two days, when they were at length turned out, and carried in chairs to the ruined Factories, where they were *planted* among the ruins just as if they had been portions of the marble statue which had been destroyed. It was just at this time that our troops landed, and of course every attention was paid to the unhappy sufferers; and, as Mr. Coolidge observes, "I cannot tell you with what feelings of good-will we looked upon every one of those red-coats."

Soon after mid-day, while the work of destruction was going on at the Factories, Captain Elliot and Captain Herbert proceeded with all speed down to Whampoa, in order to make arrangements for the hasty advance of the whole force, which was nearly all there assembled, not far from Whampoa. Captain Elliot, however, could not forego the pleasure of giving a parting proclamation to the Chinese, even then. He told the people of Canton, "that their city had twice been *spared*, but that his agreement with the three commissioners had now been violated by them, by the arming of their forts, and by their secret preparations to attack the English, who were *the real protectors of the city*." He called upon them "to remember the hour of battle, and to consider whether the troops of the other provinces now among them were not the real scourges of the inhabitants;" and, after a little more in the same compassionate strain, he wound up by calling upon them "to *turn out the commissioners and their troops* from the city *within twelve hours*, otherwise that the English would be obliged to withdraw their *protection* from the city, and take military possession of it, confiscating all the property to the Queen of England." This must have sounded highly gratifying to the Chinese; quite in the Oriental style; and it was exceedingly probable that the mob of Canton would have the power, even had they the will, to turn out about 20,000 troops, together with the high authorities, all in the twinkling of an eye, by a sort of talismanic "Open sesame!"

The storm was now gathering thicker and thicker every hour; our forces were all by this time concentrated within a few short miles of the city; delay was no longer possible; and the moment appeared inevitably come, though long delayed, when the Chinese authorities must yield to force, where "reason" and negotiation had been tried in vain, and written instruments had failed.

CHAPTER XX.

The city of Canton, or Kwantung, is situated upon the northern bank of the river usually known by the same name, though sometimes called by Europeans the Pearl river, from its Chinese name, Choo-keang. Its distance from the Bogue is about 40 miles. The scenery around the city is extremely diversified. On the northern and north-eastern sides it is commanded by hills, the possession of which by an enemy must, of necessity, place the city at his mercy. In other directions it presents the aspect of a low and abundantly-watered plain, cut up by canals and little rivers which serve both for irrigation and for communication with the interior. So numerous are they, that in some parts nearly a third part of the whole surface is occupied by water. The appearance of the country is rich, and at most seasons beautifully green, being divided into rice-fields and little gardens, with here and there a clump of trees or a small village, or the country residences of some of the wealthier inhabitants of the city, to diversify the prospect.

About three or four miles to the westward of the city, and curving round at the foot of the hills which command it, runs the creek or river in which the war-junks and fire-rafts had been destroyed by the Nemesis and boats. The excellent landing-place at Tsingpoo, which had been discovered on that occasion, was very conveniently situated for the debarkation of troops destined to attack the heights above the city, which are in fact the key to its occupation.

The city and its suburbs occupy the whole space between the hills and the river; the suburbs being little less extensive than the city itself. The latter is surrounded by a high wall, which has twelve entrances, and it may be about six or seven miles in circumference. On the south, or river side, a portion of the suburbs extends down to the water-side; and in the western corner of these are situated the foreign factories, and the principle pack-houses of the Hong merchants, which are partly built on piles on the river's bank. On the northern side, the wall rests directly upon the brow of the hills; and, indeed, there is a hill of moderate elevation actually *within the walls*, the possession of which would, in fact, give the command of the entire city, and which could have been held by a small force against any troops the Chinese could bring against it. Another wall divides the city into two unequal parts, running from east to west, and called the Old and

the New City, the latter being much more modern than the former, but differing from it very little in appearance. The residences of all the high officers, the Viceroy, Lieutenant-Governor, Tartar General, and others, together with a public arsenal, are situated in the Old City; but the moment we got possession of the two forts, called the Dutch and French Follies, we could command the whole of these places, without in any degree endangering the Factories, which are at a considerable distance to the westward, in the suburbs.

The heights above the city were crowned with four strong forts, built principally of brick at the upper part, but of stone below. They mounted altogether forty-two guns of various calibre, together with a great number of ginjals and wall-pieces. Between them and the city walls, the distance of which varied from 150 to 250 paces, there was an irregular, and in some parts deep and broken ravine. The hill before described as *within* the circuit of the walls was also within range of the heights; and so important was this position afterwards considered by Sir Hugh Gough, that he distinctly declared that, with "this in his possession, he would have been responsible that the city should have been spared, and that not a soldier should have entered the town farther than this fortified height."

We now return to the point at which our combined naval and military forces were all concentrated, below Whampoa, on the 22nd and 23rd of March, having sailed from Hong-Kong on the 18th and 19th of that month.

An important general order was now issued by Sir Hugh Gough, preparatory to the advance of our troops upon Canton. It betokened the true feeling which animated the expedition; and, while it goes far to refute the belief that wanton cruelty was inflicted upon the Chinese, it does honour to the expedition, as *primâ facie* evidence of the forbearance with which our power was first exercised. After first alluding to the novelty of the Chinese system of warfare to the British soldier, as one making up in cunning and artifice what it lacks in discipline, and, after recommending extreme caution against surprise and stratagem, and, above all, the observance of the strictest discipline, Sir Hugh Gough proceeds to remind his soldiers that "Great Britain had gained as much fame by her clemency and forbearance as by the gallantry of her troops. An enemy in arms is always a legitimate foe; but, the unarmed or the supplicant for mercy, of whatever country or whatever colour, a true British soldier will always spare." Such was in reality the feeling which animated the whole expedition, although the desultory attacks of the Chinese, and the refusal of many of them to surrender when all

further resistance was useless, sometimes occasioned a loss of life which was to be deplored, but which could not be prevented.

The channel through which our forces were now about to advance upon Canton was one which had been not long before examined for the first time, one may even say discovered, by Mr. Browne, the master of the Calliope, Lieutenant Kellet, of the Starling, Mr. Johnson, the master of the Conway, and other officers. It came to be called Browne's Passage, although Mr. Browne himself called it the "main branch of the Canton river." It runs to the southward of French Island, towards the Macao passage, and is a much more important branch of the river than that which runs along the northern side of that island, which was first explored in the Nemesis by Captain Herbert and Captain Elliot, and along which our vessels had proceeded to the attack of the Macao Fort, as before described.

In Captain Herbert's report to Sir Gordon Bremer, in the middle of March, referring to some of these passages, he stated that "boats from the Calliope, Herald, Hyacinth, Sulphur, and Starling, had, on several occasions, explored the channels in the south branch of the river, from Danes' Island upwards, and that they had found a safe and deep passage for vessels drawing sixteen feet water up to the city of Canton, except two bars, which it required high water to pass." Mr. Browne and Lieut. Kellett, with the boats, had proceeded along the channel between Danes' and French Islands, and then entered the passage which runs along the southern side of the latter.

The Chinese had commenced preparations for the defence of these channels at several points; there was a battery of ten guns, another of fourteen, and one of four guns in the passage between the two islands, or French River, which was too small for ships to pass through it. Other batteries were also found in the so-called Browne's Passage, one of which was calculated to mount thirty-seven guns. Indeed, in all the branches of the river, batteries were found, some partially, some completely, finished. At one of these, a little above the last mentioned, there were not less than forty guns ready for mounting, newly cast, and with quite new carriages. But the Chinese offered no resistance; and, on one occasion, Lieutenant Kellett invited the mandarin in charge of one of these forts to come and breakfast with him, presuming that he had more appetite for food than for fighting.

Mr. Browne and Mr. Johnson made a good rough survey of the whole of this important channel, in which there was found to be depth of water sufficient for our largest transports, to the

distance of about ten miles. Even a line-of-battle ship, the Blenheim, was carried up nearly as far as the transports; and hence the beginning of the passage along the southern bank of Danes' Island obtained the name of the Blenheim Reach. It is here that our largest merchant ships have since usually anchored.

The 23rd of May was occupied in completing the necessary preparations for the conveyance of our troops, marines, small-arm men, and camp-followers up to the city of Canton; but it was not until noon of the 24th, that our forces could commence their advance. In the meantime Captain Belcher had been directed to collect as many Chinese boats as possible higher up the river, and to send them down with the tide. Gradually they had been dropping down from the direction of the city, until, at length, there were enough collected for the conveyance of two thousand men, besides camp-followers, stores, and materiel of all kinds. At the same time, with a view to embarrass the Chinese as much as possible, orders had been given that all the native trading-boats should be detained, and that all the salt junks should be stopped. In the course of a few days, no less than 141 trading junks, of every kind, were brought to, and detained in the neighbourhood of Napier's Fort, and at the Naval Arsenal below the city; they comprised little less than 10,000 tons of shipping, manned by about 1,100 Chinese sailors. The sudden stoppage of this considerable trade could not fail to make a deep impression upon the whole population of Canton. No injury, however, was done to any of the trading-vessels, which were all suffered to depart without further molestation, the moment the authorities of the city had agreed to Captain Elliot's terms.

Before our troops finally advanced upon Canton, Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Le Fleming Senhouse went up in person to make a careful reconnoissance, and particularly with a view to assure themselves of the practicability of the landing-place at Tsing-poo. At length, soon after noon, of the 24th, every preparation for the advance was completed.

The troops were all embarked in two columns, of which the right was destined to hold the Factories, and was taken up in the Atalanta steamer. It merely consisted of the 26th Cameronians, not 300 strong, together with an officer and 20 men of the Madras Artillery, with one six-pounder gun, and one five and a half-inch mortar. Thirty sappers, with an officer of engineers, were also attached to it; it was under the command of Major Pratt, of the 26th regiment. The left column comprised the main body of the force, which was destined to carry the heights above the city, being divided into four brigades.

To Captain Hall was entrusted the charge and the honour of carrying or towing up the whole of this column, together with the camp-followers and attendants of every kind, (in this instance reduced to the smallest possible number,) which always accompany our troops in the East. The enormous flotilla of boats, including, of course, those belonging to the men-of-war, necessarily retarded the progress of the steamer very much, particularly in the more intricate parts of the river. As she advanced, numerous boats from our ships were picked up, until their number could not have been less than from seventy to eighty; hanging on behind each other, and following in the wake of the long low steamer. It was altogether a very animating scene. The numerous flags, the motley appearance of the boats, the glitter of the arms and accoutrements and the various uniforms of the men, produced a very exciting spectacle.

On board the Nemesis were the 49th regiment; together with Major-General Sir Hugh Gough and his staff, Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, and Captain Elliot, accompanied by Mr. Morrison. Captain Bourchier, who was to command the naval brigade, and several other officers, were also on board. The decks of the steamer were crowded. Slowly and steadily she advanced, dragging after her the long tail of boats, a more numerous flotilla than any steamer had yet towed.

The Chinese must have been perfectly well informed of the approach of the force; and, had they not been already panic-struck by the lessons they had so recently received, they might have occasioned great annoyance, and perhaps loss, to our troops, exposed as they were in boats, by firing on them from the banks of the river, in places where they would have been themselves under cover. No opposition of any kind however, was offered. In the mean time, the Atalanta reached her destination at the Factories more expeditiously, and the right column was landed before five o'clock, without opposition; when Major Pratt immediately set about strengthening his post, and making the necessary dispositions, either for defensive or offensive operations, as circumstances might require. It was now that the unfortunate Americans were discovered, in the wretched plight before described, in the midst of the ruins of the factories, in which they had been turned loose, as it were, like beasts, after the indignities they had suffered.

It was just dusk when the left column, towed by the Nemesis, reached the destined point of debarkation at Tsingpoo, where the Sulphur was already at anchor. By this time it was too late in the day to do more than land the 49th regiment. This was easily effected, as they could walk on shore directly out of the

steamer, without the necessity of using boats, or causing any delay whatever. Here, again. as in so many other instances, the advantages of this sort of steamer was clearly shewn.

During the rest of the evening of the 24th, and in the night, the guns, ammunition, and stores were also landed, but the remainder of the force did not disembark until the following morning. As soon as the 49th were landed, they took possession of a large temple, or so called joss-house, near the landing-place. The general lost no time in making an extended reconnoissance as soon as he had landed, under an escort of the 49th.

From a rising ground at no great distance, a general view of the enemy's positions could be gained. It was now evident that they had already taken the alarm, and they threw up some of their small, harmless rockets by way of signal, to shew that they were on the alert, but made no movement in advance. Sir Hugh Gough was in reality at this time totally unacquainted with the nature of the country he should have to pass over on the following day, as well as of the difficulties he might have to encounter; but, with the utmost confidence in the steadiness and perfect discipline of the little force under his command, he felt assured that no difficulties could check them. Neither could the amount of the enemy's force, respecting which there were various conjectures, probably in most instances exaggerated, be at all ascertained.

The Chinese system of warfare had not yet been experienced, and it was, in fact, the first time that European troops were about to undertake operations in China, beyond the cover of our ships. The Chinese had been known to declare that, if they could get us away from our ships, they had full confidence that they would be able to beat us in fair fight ashore. They were now to have an opportunity of putting their prowess to the test. This was the first occasion on which a British general officer had commanded in China; and it was the first opportunity which that general had ever had of witnessing the gallantry of British seamen and marines in service on shore, and of bearing testimony to their steadiness and discipline, and to the value of their co-operation. He afterwards expressed himself in general orders, in reference to the naval brigade under Captain Bourchier, to the effect "that it would always be a matter of proud recollection to him that he had had them under his orders."

While our troops had thus advanced upon Canton on the 24th, Captain Herbert, who was stationed at Whampoa with the Calliope, Conway, Herald, and Alligator, was directed to push up the river with a flood tide, with such vessels as could proceed,

or with the boats of the ships, by the direct, or Whampoa passage, and endeavour to secure the naval arsenal opposite to the city. It was left to his own judgment to attack the French fort below the city, or not, according to circumstances.

At the same time, another part of our force, consisting of the Hyacinth, Modeste, Cruiser, and Columbine, had taken up a position near the Factories, under Captain Warren, who had been directed to secure the Dutch fort, and to use his own judgment as to an attack upon any other of the defences which were known to have been recently constructed. The possession of the Dutch and French forts would give us complete command of the river front of the city, and of the palaces of the high authorities.

Captain Herbert lost no time in pushing up the river, with the boats and marines of the ships before mentioned; while Captain Warren, having ordered the Nimrod and Pylades to attack the Shameen Fort, (which had been re-armed by the Chinese) proceeded to place the Hyacinth, under his own command, abreast of the Factories, in order to cover the landing of the 26th regiment from the Atalanta. In the mean time, the Modeste, Cruiser, and Columbine took up a position to attack the Dutch Folly, if necessary; but it was found to be unarmed.

As soon as the 26th regiment had landed at the Factory, the Atalanta and Algerine (which had now joined the squadron) were ordered to move down the river as far as possible. The Atalanta unfortunately took the ground, where she remained for several days, and was got off with difficulty. The Algerine, drawing but little water, was able to go over the reef, which is abreast of the Dutch fort, with a strong ebb-tide. She then took up her berth between the Dutch and French Follies, and only one hundred and fifty yards distant from a heavy sand battery, which she engaged single-handed, none of the other vessels being able to come up to her support. The battery mounted eleven very heavy guns, and the Algerine was frequently hit. The pinnaces of the Hyacinth and Modeste were sent to help to shift her berth, but it was impossible, owing to the strength of the tide. Lieutenant Mason, who commanded the brig, with instant determination now pushed off in his gig, and, accompanied by the two pinnaces, dashed ashore and carried the battery with great gallantry, but not without meeting with strong resistance, in which Mr. Fitzgerald, of the Modeste, fell mortally wounded, together with one seaman killed, and fourteen seamen and marines wounded. Some of the Chinese guns were ten and a half inch.

Captain Herbert and Captain Bethune endeavoured to push

up from Howqua's Folly at sunset, but were stopped by a shot from the French Folly, which went through Captain Herbert's boat, and the heaviness of the fire compelled the boats to take shelter under a point of land for some hours, so that they were not able to reach the brig until two o'clock, A.M. During the night several fire-rafts were sent adrift, but were towed clear, without doing any mischief. Thus ended the 24th of May, and our forces, both naval and military, might already be said to hold Canton at their mercy.

No time was lost on the following morning in securing the arsenal, in which were found nearly a dozen large war-junks upon the stocks, and a great many row-boats. There were also twelve large war-junks just finished, lying at anchor off the arsenal. Having made a reconnoissance of the French Fort, and the other defences on that side, Captain Herbert resolved to carry it without loss of time. The Modeste was the only vessel except the Algerine which could be got across the bar at the Dutch Folly, and that not without great difficulty, having been warped over the reef at high water. The Atalanta was still aground, and the guns of the Algerine not being sufficiently heavy, Captain Herbert ordered shell guns to be fitted in three of the captured war-junks, to assist in the attack upon the French Folly.

The gun-junks were placed under the direction of Lieutenants Haskell and Hay, and, together with the Modeste and Algerine, opened upon the French fort and the long line of works connected with it, on the morning of the 26th. The Chinese soon began to give way, and Captain Bethune immediately landed with the storming party, and gallantly carried the works. There were altogether 64 guns, some of large calibre, four being ten and a half inch. Thus the whole of the river defences of Canton were at length in our possession, at the same time that the heights above the city had been carried by our troops under Sir Hugh Gough.

CHAPTER XXI.

It will be remembered that the 26th regiment, together with a few of the Madras artillery, and sappers and miners, were posted at the Factories, and, therefore, took no part in the engagement on the heights on the 25th, although they joined the head-quarters afterwards. The whole force actually engaged on that day, under Sir Hugh Gough, including the marines and the naval brigade, amounted to nearly 2,400 men, but the actual number of bayonets in the field was only about 1,500. The artillery comprised a body of 400 men, with four 12-pounder howitzers, four 9-pounder field-guns, and two 6-pounder guns; also three 5½-inch mortars, and one hundred and fifty-two 32-pounder rockets.

The naval brigade, commanded by Captain Bourchier, comprised 403 small-arm men; so that, when added to the marines, it is evident that full one-third of the force employed on the heights was supplied by the different ships of the squadron—viz., 811 men. In proportion as these were withdrawn from their respective ships, the duty to be performed by those who remained on board became the more severe.

Sir Le Fleming Senhouse entrusted the command of the naval brigade to Captain Bourchier, as it was the express wish of Sir Hugh Gough that the senior naval officer should join his staff, and remain at his side throughout the day, instead of leading the brigade in person. It was divided into two battalions, one led by Captain Maitland of the Wellesley, and the other by Commander Barlow, of the Nimrod. The whole force, divided into four brigades, comprised about 2,400 men, and was directed to move left in front. The details given below will render further comment unnecessary.*

* FIELD LIST OF TROOPS ENGAGED ON THE HEIGHTS ABOVE CANTON ON THE 25TH OF MAY, 1841, ALL OF WHICH WERE TAKEN ON BOARD AND IN TOW OF THE NEMESIS.

		Officers.	All other ranks.
Left Brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Morris.			
H.M. 49th Regiment, commanded by Major Stephens . .		28	273
7th Madras Native Infantry, Capt. Duff .	European 11, Native 4	15	215
Company of Bengal Volunteers, Capt. Mee	European 2, Native 2	4	112
		47	600

At daylight, on the morning of the 25th, the whole of the troops were landed. The Nemesis, Sulphur, and Starling remained at anchor close to Tsingpoo; and small detachments of the 18th and 49th regiments, and of the 37th M.N.I., amounting altogether to between seventy and eighty men, were left posted at the temple before described, in order to secure the landing, and prevent any attempt at surprise on the part of the Chinese. This precaution afterwards proved to have been very judicious.

From a hill a little above the landing-place, a good view of the enemy's positions could be obtained; and a little beyond that, a line of hills led directly up towards the rear of the forts above the city, at the distance of between three and four miles. The ground was irregular, and much broken by hollows, partially cultivated and laid out in rice-grounds. The labour of dragging the guns was, therefore, very great; and, indeed, two of the 12-pounder howitzers, and two of the 9-pounder guns, were not got into position upon the heights until the following day. The other two, however, and also the 6-

	Officers.	All other ranks.
Third, or Artillery Brigade, under Captain Knowles, R.A.		
Royal Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Spencer . .	2	33
Madras Artillery, commanded by Captain Anstruther . .	10	231
Sappers and Miners, commanded by Captain Cotton . .	4	137
	16	401
Second, or Naval Brigade, under Captain Bourchier.		
1st Battalion, Captain Maitland . . . . . 11 2nd Battalion, Commander Barlow 16	27	172 231 } 403
	27	403
First (right) Brigade, under Major-General Burrell.		
18th Royal Irish, Lieutenant-Colonel Adams	25	495
Royal Marines, Captain Ellis	9	372
	34	867
Total, Officers . .	124	
——, Other ranks . .	...	2271
Grand total	2395	

N.B.—It is to be remarked that the company of Bengal Volunteers, comprising 112 men, had only two European officers.

pounders, together with the rocket battery, were brought up with the troops.

Of the four forts, two were situated not far from each other, near the north-western angle of the city walls, on which side is the hill which is enclosed *within* the walls, and which, in the event of the capture of the city itself, it was the intention of Sir Hugh Gough to occupy strongly, as being the key to the possession of the whole city. The other two forts, which might be called the eastern forts, were situated upon the heights, at some distance to the eastward of the other forts, nearly facing the centre of the city wall. One of these was some way in advance of the other.

The weather was extremely sultry during the whole of the 25th, which much fatigued the men before the close of the day, and laid the foundation for sickness, to which many afterwards fell victims. The troops were directed to advance along the brow of the hills in echellon of columns; and, as soon as the artillery could be got up, the guns opened upon the two western forts which were nearest, and from which the Chinese had already commenced a spirited fire. They also threatened an attack upon the right, by large columns, which appeared to debouch from the western suburbs.

Our attack upon the two western forts was entrusted entirely to the naval brigade, under cover of the guns and rockets; and, at the same time the left brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morris, was to advance and carry the nearest of the two eastern forts (which was also the rearmost in relation to the town); while the first brigade, under Major-General Burrell, having carried a hill in their front, upon which a body of Chinese were posted, and which flanked the advance of the left brigade, was to push on and carry the principal eastern fort, cutting off the communication between the two, at the same moment when the 49th made their attack upon the nearest fort.

As the two brigades advanced together, there was some little rivalry (the strictest discipline being preserved) between the 49th and 18th regiments, as to which should have the honour of commencing the attack upon the two forts. The 49th, having the advantage of a shorter and perhaps better road, got the lead, which they maintained, so that the left brigade carried BOTH the eastern forts before the 18th came up, and with little loss. The two western forts were at the same time gallantly carried by the brigade of seamen, who were exposed to a heavy fire of ginjals, wall-pieces, and matchlocks, from the city walls, by which they suffered some loss.

Thus, in the space of little more than half an hour from the time the advance was sounded, the heights which overlooked the city were in our possession, and the British flag waved in triumph over all the forts which commanded it. The Chinese seemed little inclined to come to close quarters as our troops advanced, and they were soon driven out of the forts, making the best of their way down the hills in confusion

While our troops were thus engaged upon the heights, the Chinese threatened an attack upon the landing-place at Tsing-poo Their object might have been either to endeavour to cut off the retreat of our troops from the heights, or else to get possession of the stores, &c., which had been left behind. A considerable body of the Chinese sallied out of the western gate of the city, from which a narrow, irregular causeway, led down to the landing-place at Tsingpoo.

This movement being immediately observed from the heights, orders were sent down by Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, at the suggestion of Sir Hugh Gough, for some of the officers of the vessels at anchor there to land with their men, and assist in the defence of the place. These orders were delivered to Captain Hall by an officer of the Blenheim, sent on purpose. Preparations had already been made on board with this object, and Captain Hall lost no time in landing with half his crew, the other half remaining at quarters on board, under Lieutenant Pedder. There were 28 men and two officers (besides Captain Hall) from the Nemesis; about fourteen men and two officers from the Sulphur; and eighteen men and two officers from the Blonde; altogether 60 men and seven officers.

Having landed and formed, they immediately joined the small body of troops which had been stationed at the Joss house to protect the guns, stores, &c., which had been left behind. They were commanded by Lieutenant Grant, of the 49th, and consisted of thirty men of that regiment, thirty of the 18th, under Lieutenant Cockburn, and fourteen of the 37th M.N I., under Ensign Anquitelle. Lieut. Grant had got his men under arms the moment the alarm was given, and, perceiving a body of about 250 Chinese skirmishers advancing in extended order, he moved out to meet them; when within about fifty yards, he poured in a smart fire, by which many of them were killed, and drove them back upon their main body, who were drawn up in close column, about 400 strong, (regular troops,) behind a bridge some distance off, upon which they had planted three field-pieces. The blue jackets having joined, Captain Hall instantly led the way, at the head of them, *directly down the causeway*, towards the bridge; and, under cover of an excellent fire from the Nemesis and Starling, the whole column attacked the

Chinese in front, and were received with an ill-directed fire of grape and curious rocket arrows, by which two men were slightly hit.

The Chinese were driven from their guns, and endeavoured to rally behind some houses in their rear, but they soon made a hasty retreat towards the town, closely pursued, for some distance, by our seamen and the troops under Lieutenant Grant. But it was not thought prudent to follow them within range of the ginjals upon the city walls, as no good purpose could be effected by it, and some loss might have been suffered. About 30 of the enemy were supposed to have been killed and wounded. The three field-pieces were spiked; and the houses near the bridge, in which a quantity of military stores were found, were set on fire. This little spirited affair, although officially reported to Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, was never specially mentioned in any of the public despatches—an omission which at that time created some surprise, but which was subsequently noticed by General Sir Hugh Gough, in a letter addressed to Captain Hall in the following terms:—

"I confine myself to the operations before Canton, in May, 1841, when the Nemesis, under your command, towed up the Macao passage, and past Canton to Tsingpoo, a fleet of boats, such as possibly were never before attached to a steamer. As my lamented friend, Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, is no more it belongs to me to express my admiration of your spirited and judicious exertions on that occasion, and of the gallant manner in which, as was afterwards reported to me, the seamen under your command, conjointly with the troops under the command of Lieut. Grant, of the 49th regiment, repulsed the enemies' attacks upon the village of Tsingpoo, which he then held."

To return to our movements upon the heights. During the greater part of the day, a spirited fire was kept up from the city walls by guns, ginjals and matchlocks; which made it necessary to keep the men under cover as much as possible.

In the rear, and a little to the eastward of the forts occupied by the 18th and 49th, was a high hill, which, in fact, was the key to the whole position, but it was not fortified. There was, however, a large joss-house upon the top of it, which was occupied by a detachment of the 49th regiment. Upon the low ground to the eastward of this hill, and between it and a large entrenched camp, situated upon rising ground close to the suburbs, was a village occupied by Chinese troops. Frequent communications were passing between it and the entrenched camp, in which there appeared to be not less than three or four thousand men. The enemy were soon dislodged from the village by the 49th, and dispositions were made by Sir Hugh Gough to

carry the entrenched camp by assault. Several high officers had been observed to pass out of the city on their way to this camp, and it was evident that some fresh attack was projected. The 18th were therefore ordered down from the heights to reinforce the detachment of the 49th, together with a few marines, and Major-General Burrell was directed to carry the encampment, the only approach to which was along a narrow causeway. A heavy fire was opened upon them from guns and ginjals upon the north-eastern face of the city walls, to which the men were unavoidably exposed as they advanced. The Chinese seemed to have got the precise range of the causeway, and some loss was suffered in consequence. But the enemy were soon driven gallantly out of the camp, and fled in disorder across the country. The buildings were then destroyed, together with several magazines, and the force returned to the heights.

The day was now far advanced, and the men were much fatigued with the oppressive heat. The steep and broken nature of the approach to the heights had made it impossible to get up the heavy guns and ammunition until the following day. The assault of the city was therefore deferred; but Sir Hugh Gough, having made a careful reconnoissance of the walls and gates, determined to carry them on the following day, while the panic of the Chinese was still at its height.

On the morning of the 26th, all was apparently quiet within the city, except that numbers of people were issuing out of the gates, which were remote from the scene of action, hastening to carry away with them all the valuable property which could be easily transported. Our troops were early under arms, but no further operations against the city could be undertaken until the ammunition and the heavy guns could be brought up.

The weather in the morning did not look auspicious, and before the day was half over, rain began to fall in torrents. Few Chinese appeared upon the walls of the city; and at length, soon after 10 o'clock, a flag of truce was displayed from the walls. It is remarkable how perfectly well the value of the white flag was remembered (as before noticed by Captain Elliot) whenever the Chinese wished to negotiate, or to induce us to suspend our operations; although they thought proper to slight it whenever it suited their purpose. Shortly afterwards, the general deputed Mr. Thom, who was attached to him as interpreter, to advance and ascertain what the Chinese desired. A mandarin, distinguished by a red button, now stated that they wished to propose terms of peace, with a view to spare the city, and that in the mean time there should be a suspension of hostilities. It was replied, that the general could treat with no other officer than the Chinese

commander-in-chief, his equal in rank; that the British forces had come before Canton much against the wishes of the English nation, but were compelled to do so owing to the insults offered to the British subjects, and the bad faith of the Chinese high officers; that they might, therefore, address their requests to Capt Elliot, who was with the advanced squadron in the river before the city; and that 2 or 3 hours would be allowed for them to communicate with that officer, and also to arrange an interview between the English and the Tartar general; but that, if within that period no satisfactory communication should be received, the white flag would be struck. These overtures, on the part of the Chinese, led to no immediate result. Sir Hugh Gough waited more than four hours before the white flag was struck, and even then the Chinese did not lower theirs.

During the remainder of the day, and in the course of the night, by the unwearied exertions of the Royal and Madras Artillery, assisted by the Sappers and Miners, all the guns and ammunition were got up, except one 12-pounder howitzer, the carriage of which had been disabled. During the whole of this time, the rain fell heavily, which much increased the necessary labour, and added to the privations of the men, who either bivouacked or partially sheltered, as best they could.

The truce, if it could be so called, was of some use to us, as it gave time for the completion of all the preparations for the assault, which was to have taken place at 8 o'clock on the following morning. Our batteries were to have opened at 7 o'clock, and it was expected that the parapet of the walls, which was high, would have been reduced by the concentrated fire of our guns. The walls were not less than 28 to 30 feet high, and were separated from the heights, from which they were in some parts less than two hundred paces distant, by an intervening glen.

The broken nature of the ground was peculiarly favourable for the several attacks which were designed; and as soon as a lodgment had been made upon the walls, the different columns of attack were to unite, and make a rush at the fortified hill, which, as before described, was situated within the walls, and commanded the interior of the city. The attack was to have been made in four columns, of which the right, consisting of the royal marines, under Captain Ellis, was to blow open the north gate with powder bags; but if that attempt failed, they were to escalade a circular work thrown up as a defence to that gate. The second column, composed of the blue jackets, under Captain Bourchier, were to escalade the wall a little beyond the circular work, where its height was not so great, under cover of musketry. At the same time, the 18th Royal Irish, under Lieut.-Colonel Adams, were to escalade

the wall close to the seven-storied pagoda, under cover of our batteries on the heights above. The assault was also to be covered by the Bengal volunteers, and part of the Madras 37th N.I. Further to the left, the 49th, under Lieut.-Colonel Morris, were directed to carry a sort of bastion in front, and within range of the largest and nearest of the forts upon the heights, of which we had got possession the day before. Sir Hugh Gough's principal object would then have been to occupy the fortified hill within the walls, upon which a heavy fire of shells and rockets was to have been kept up during the assault of the walls.

Every arrangement was thus made which could ensure the certain and speedy capture of the city, with little loss on our side. What then must have been the chagrin and disappointment of the general and all his officers, when, soon after 6 o'clock, just as the final orders were given and the batteries were about to open, a letter from Captain Elliot was put into the general's hands, which announced to him that a truce had been agreed to, and that further operations must therefore be suspended. It barely arrived in time to stop the assault of the city, which was on the point of being commenced. Under these circumstances, as Sir Hugh Gough observed, "whatever might be my sentiments or feelings, it was my duty to acquiesce, and therefore the attack was countermanded, and the feelings of the Chinese were spared." To this he added, that he had no means of judging of the policy of the measure. If any further doubt upon the subject remained, it was finally set at rest by the arrival of Captain Elliot in person at the camp, about noon. From that moment all idea of further hostile operations against the city was abandoned. Shortly before Captain Elliot's arrival, Sir Hugh Gough had held a short conference, accompanied by Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, with the Tartar General in person, outside the walls, in a tent pitched for the purpose. The result was of little importance, as it was already known that terms had been negotiated by Captain Elliot.

Various stories were current concerning the mode in which the ransom of the city was first proposed. One of the most credited accounts was that the Hong merchants were ordered by the authorities to go as far as *ten* millions of dollars, if a less sum would not suffice; but on no account to return without effecting the object. They must have known that they would themselves have to pay the greater part of the amount, and naturally wished to make the best bargain they could.

It is said that in the first instance they pulled along side one of our men-of-war, and offered three millions for the ransom of the city. As they evidently appeared to be in a hurry to make a bargain of some sort or other, they were told that a much larger sum would

be required. Four millions were then proposed, and then five millions; and at length, in great trepidation, and with many protestations of poverty, they raised the offer to six millions. In the first instance they were scarcely thought to be in earnest, but as the thing now really looked serious, they were directed to go and confer with Captain Elliot, who granted a truce until 12 o'clock the following day, the 27th; and, in the intervening time, terms were definitively agreed upon.

The 24 hours' truce in the first instance, was quite unknown to Sir Hugh Gough, to whom an officer of the navy had been sent in the afternoon to convey the information; but having missed his way, and wandered all night, he only reached the head-quarters, as before stated, within half an hour of the time the batteries were to open. The fact of the truce having been granted was now sufficient to account for the Chinese having continued to display the white flag from the walls the preceding day, after it had been lowered by Sir Hugh Gough upon the heights.

As it had been stipulated that the Tartar troops should leave the city and retire to a distance of 60 miles from it, a conference was held on the 28th between Sir Hugh Gough and the prefect of the city, in order to make arrangements for the evacuation of Canton. It was now ascertained that the force amounted to no less than 45,000 men from distant provinces, besides those troops which belonged to the province itself. The Tartar soldiers were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, but without displaying their banners, and without music.

So far then, the authorities appeared to have perfect control over the people of the city, and over the troops belonging to other provinces which formed the garrison. But beyond the city it was not so easy for them to exercise the same degree of authority, particularly as regarded the armed peasants. For some time the peasantry of the province, particularly in the neighbourhood of the city, had been encouraged to form themselves into societies, or patriotic bands, as they were called, for mutual defence against the foreigners. They constituted a sort of rude military; but having inexperienced leaders and no discipline, they were calculated if once their passions were roused, to become more troublesome to the province itself than formidable to the enemy. They were imperfectly armed, every man according to his own taste, with spears, swords, a few matchlocks, and shields. With total ignorance of military affairs, and without any knowledge of the resources of the enemy they were to encounter, they believed that, by mere force of numbers, and a little courage at a distance, they could effect that which even their regular Tartars had been totally unable to accomplish. Yet

they were held up to the nation at large by the government as models of patriotism and self-devotion; and so impressed were they with the high value of their proffered services, that they really believed the high officers had betrayed their trust in acceding to Captain Elliot's terms for the ransom of the city; and that the anxiety of the inhabitants to save their own property had induced them to make unreasonable concessions, at the very moment when *they* (the patriots) were advancing to exterminate their enemies by falling upon their rear.

It is, therefore not surprising that, two days after the city had been ransomed—namely, on the 29th, a considerable body of these men began to collect on the heights, about three or four miles in the rear of our positions. Their numbers continued to increase throughout the day, and Sir Hugh Gough, being fully prepared to expect some act of treachery or bad faith under cover of a flag of truce, directed Major-General Burrell to take charge of our positions, and to hold every man in readiness to repel any attack from the city, while he himself advanced in person to meet and disperse the enemy, who now shewed themselves.

The 26th regiment, under Major Pratt, which had occupied the factories until the 27th, had been brought up to Tsingpoo by the Nemesis on that day, and joined Sir Hugh Gough upon the heights. The force which the General now took with him comprised that regiment, the 49th, except one company left at the joss-house on the heights, the 37th M. N. I., and the company of Bengal Volunteers, supported by the Royal Marines. These two latter were to be held in reserve, so as to be in readiness to return towards the heights, and act upon the flank, should any attack be made from the town during the absence of so large a portion of our force.

The Chinese had descended from the heights in the rear upon which they had first appeared, and had taken up rather a strong position behind an embankment along the bed of a stream; they appeared to number about four thousand men. The 26th regiment, which had not yet been engaged, supported by the 37th M. N. I., were ordered to advance and drive them from this position, which they effected without any loss. Like most irregular troops, the Chinese patriots could not act together in a body, but took to flight, throwing away their spears as soon as a well-directed fire was opened upon them. They attempted to rally for a moment at a sort of military post in their rear, but they did not make a stand. The buildings were immediately destroyed, together with a magazine, which was unexpectedly found in the adjoining village. The Chinese retreated to the heights upon which they had first appeared. Sir Hugh Gough, having then directed the

49th and Bengal Volunteers to fall back upon our original position upon the heights, remained to watch in person the movements of the Chinese, with the 26th and 37th M. N. I., amounting together to between five and six hundred men.

The heat of the sun this day was excessive; it was so sultry that both officers and men suffered great exhaustion, and Major Beecher, the deputy quartermaster-general, whose exertions had been unremitting throughout the previous days, fell down, and almost immediately expired; several other officers also fell sick. Within two or thee hours after the first repulse of the Chinese, they again collected upon the heights in greater numbers than before, fresh bodies of them having now come up with banners, &c., amounting to from seven to eight thousand men.

Captain Knowles of the artillery, who had been ordered to bring up some rockets, now threw them with great precision among the Chinese, but without being able to disperse them; indeed, they appeared determined to shew a bold front; and the general therefore, directed Major Pratt, with the 26th, to attack a large body of them who had descended from the heights to some rice-fields on his left. Captain Duff, with the 37th M. N. I., supported by the Bengal Volunteers was also directed to advance and disperse a large body in his front, who had attempted to re-occupy the military post which had been already burnt; they were then to push forward towards the hills and clear them of the enemy.

These manœuvres were executed with complete success, the Chinese being dispersed at all points. The 37th M. N. I., however, pushed on further than was intended, and got separated from the Bengal Volunteers. Captain Duff, had, however, detached a company to open his communication with the 26th, who were at some distance on his left. But the day was far advanced, and the thunder-storm, the approach of which had been surely indicated by the extreme sultriness and oppressive heat of the morning, now burst upon them with inconceivable fury. The rain also descended in such torrents that the firelocks got wet, and scarcely a single musket would go off. The 26th were, in consequence, frequently compelled to charge with the bayonet, for the Chinese who hovered about them, seeing that they could not use their firelocks, came boldly up to attack them with their spears, which are formidable from their length. After several repulses, the Chinese at length withdrew, and our troops were directed to return to their positions.

It was on this occasion, and in the midst of this terrific storm, in the dusk of the evening, that the gallant conduct and steadiness of the company of the 37th M. N. I., which, as before stated, had

been detached to open a communication with the 26th, on their left, saved them from total destruction, and won for them the praise of all military men. This company having missed the road during the storm, did not succeed in joining the 26th, who, in the meantime, had, in fact, retired. Their muskets became completely useless, owing to the wet, which emboldened the Chinese to attack their rear with their long spears, as they had done the 26th. They were soon surrounded; and one or two of the men were pulled over with a long crooked spear, something in the shape of a small reaping-hook, fixed upon a long pole. The musket of one of the men who had fallen, was picked up by the Chinese, the powder being so damp in the pan that it would not go off with the flint and steel. The Chinese soldier, however, deliberately placed the musket to his shoulder, and, taking steady aim at one of the officers, Mr. Berkeley, applied his match to the damp powder, which ignited, and the musket went off, and unfortunately wounded Mr. Berkeley in the arm.

The gallant little company of Sepoys were now moved to some rising ground, where they could better defend themselves. For a moment, the rain ceased; and then with the utmost difficulty they were enabled to get a few muskets off, with unerring effect upon the dense mass of Chinese who surrounded them. But fortune was determined to prolong their trial still. The rain again descended in torrents, just as they had begun their retreat; and the Chinese, taking fresh courage, resumed their attacks. Nothing now remained but to form a square, and stand true to each other, until the morning dawned, and enabled them to fight their way through the enemy.

The absence of this company, when all the rest of the force was concentrated, caused great anxiety concerning their fate. It was rightly attributed to the severity of the storm, but it was feared that they might possibly have been cut off by the Chinese. Without loss of time, Sir Hugh Gough ordered up two companies of marines, who were comparatively fresh, and armed with percussion muskets, to return with Captain Duff in search of the missing company. As they advanced, they fired an occasional shot, as a signal to their comrades of their approach, and to animate their spirits. At length, an occasional shot was heard ahead of them, and they soon afterwards came up with the missing company, drawn up in a square, surrounded by thousands of Chinese. A couple of volleys sent into the midst of the confused crowd, by the unerring percussion-muskets* of the marines,

* Only two of the percussion-muskets of the marines missed fire, although they had been loaded two or three days before, without having been dis-

accompanied by a loud "hurra," dispersed them with great loss, and they fled in confusion.

The general's own words will best do justice to this little incident:—"The Sepoys," says he, "in this critical situation, nobly upheld the high character of the native army, by unshrinking discipline, and cheerful obedience, and I feel that the expression of my best thanks is due to Lieutenants Hadfield and Devereux, and Ensign Berkeley, who zealously supported them during this trying scene." They did not, however, escape without some loss, as one private was killed, and one officer and fourteen men were severely wounded.

This open hostility of the Chinese, during the operation of a truce, could not be permitted to continue; and, moreover, it was evident that no good purpose could be attained by merely dispersing these irregular bodies of the Chinese. Accordingly, on the following morning, the 31st, the general sent to inform the Kwang-chow-foo, or prefect, that if these hostile demonstrations were continued, he should be under the necessity of at once hauling down the flag of truce, and of recommencing hostilities against the city. In the course of the day, before any further arrangements had been made with the prefect, who promised to come and meet the general and Captain Elliot under the walls, the Chinese again collected upon the hills, displaying their banners, &c., and firing off their guns. Detached parties were also thrown in advance, as if they had some design of communicating with the Tartar troops, who, to the number of 7000, had already marched out of the city, and were still moving.

In the afternoon, the number of Chinese had still further increased, upon the same hill upon which they had appeared the day before. At length, the prefect arrived, and assured the general that the movements of these peasants were quite without the knowledge or sanction of the authorities, and that he would immediately send off an officer of rank to order them to disperse to their homes. It was agreed that one of our own officers should accompany him, to endeavour to effect this object by their joint efforts; and Captain Moore, of the 34th Bengal N.I., volunteered to undertake this hazardous and responsible duty. Some treachery might possibly have been intended, although, as there was reason to believe, without the sanction of the prefect, who was personally, at that time, completely in our power. These irregular bodies were at length induced to disperse, and no further collision took place.*

charged since. The men belonged principally to the Blenheim, under Lieutenant Whiting.

* It is impossible for us to know exactly what communication was made by

During all the operations upon the heights, the greater part of the wounded were brought down and put on board the Nemesis, where they received every attention from Captain Hall and the surgeon, aided by Doctor Peter Young, who was then on board merely as a volunteer. The Nemesis was employed to convey them daily to their respective ships and transports. The total number of casualties amounted to fifteen killed, and one hundred and twelve wounded; among the latter were no less than fifteen officers. The Chinese must have suffered very severely, as almost every shot told upon their heavy masses. Upon the heights of Canton forty-nine guns were captured, besides a great number of ginjals. But if we reckon all the guns taken and destroyed in the Canton river and its numerous branches, from Chuenpee to Canton, they will be found to amount to not less than *twelve hundred pieces*, besides ginjals, &c.

The resources of the Chinese seemed endless, and the rapidity with which they erected batteries and field-works was not a little remarkable. It cannot be said that they yielded without first making the most strenuous efforts to defend all the approaches to Canton; and they were rather wanting in skill, and the knowledge of the best mode of applying their abundant resources, than in courage or determination to resist. The Chinese are capable of becoming a formidable enemy, and we cannot forget that, like the Russians, who were once so easily conquered, they may soon learn the art of war from their conquerors, and become formidable from the experience which their first disasters taught them.

On the 31st of May, nearly 18,000 Tartars had marched out of Canton, according to the terms agreed on. Five million dollars had also been paid, and security given for the other million which was still to be paid. Preparations were therefore made, at the request of Captain Elliot, for the re-embarkation of our forces, and their withdrawal from before Canton. With the assistance of eight hundred Chinese labourers, who were furnished for the purpose by the prefect, the guns, ammunition, and stores were brought down to Tsingpoo on the morning of the 1st of June, under a strong escort; and the British flag having been lowered in the forts upon the heights, the whole of our force was re-embarked in the afternoon, under the superintendence of Captain Bourchier and Captain Maitland.

the Chinese officer, to the heads of these patriotic bands, but it was thought that the people did not withdraw altogether owing to the conviction that their efforts would be useless against us, but because they were bound to obey the orders of the prefect. At the same time, they really believed that they had been betrayed by their own authorities, and were ready to unite again whenever occasion offered, with some confidence of success.

Sir Hugh Gough particularly noticed the absence of excess of every kind which distinguished the men during the eight days they were on shore. Although placed in situations where temptation was abundant, only two instances of drunkenness occurred during the whole period.

The treaty, or perhaps rather the truce, which had been made, by no means implied the conclusion of peace between the two nations; it had reference solely to the city and river of Canton, the whole of the forts and defences of which were to be restored to the Chinese as soon as the ransom had been paid; it was, however, stipulated that they were not to be *re-armed* "until affairs between the two countries should be finally settled." Accordingly, as soon as our forces, both military and naval, had been again concentrated at Hong-Kong, preparations were immediately recommenced for the resumption of the projected expedition against Amoy.

CHAPTER XXII.

In the first week in June, all our ships of war and transports had left the Canton River, and were again assembled at Hong-Kong. All the forts from Chuenpee upwards had been restored to the Chinese, without any other stipulation than that all those below Whampoa should be suffered to remain *in statu quo*. The emperor seems to have been much displeased with the latter part of this agreement; and, in reply to the memorial of Yih-shan upon the subject, his majesty directed that "*secret means* of defence should be prepared as soon as the foreign ships had withdrawn from the river, and that they were then to build new and strong forts, and repair the old ones." On our side, however, nothing of this kind was permitted below Whampoa; so that, until the ratifications of the treaty of peace had been actually exchanged, the whole of the defences of the Bogue remained in the same dilapidated state in which they were left when our squadron quitted the river in June, 1841.

Sickness had already begun to prevail among our troops before they had reached Hong-Kong. The eight days' exposure which they had endured upon the heights of Canton sowed the seeds of ague and dysentery, which proved far more formidable enemies to us than any troops the Chinese could bring against us. After the lapse of a few days, and when the excitement of active operations on shore, and the cheering influence of hope and novelty had

subsided, the sickness spread among the men with alarming rapidity, so that, at length, out of our small force no less than *eleven hundred men* were upon the sick-list at Hong-Kong. Part of this alarming state of things must be attributed certainly to the pernicious influence of the atmosphere of Hong-Kong itself at that season of the year. But every allowance must be made for the exposure which the men had undergone at Canton, and for the susceptibility of constitution produced by long confinement on board ship. The germs of disease were planted in their bodies before the men returned to the harbour of Hong-Kong; and, therefore, an undue stress was laid at the time upon the unhealthiness of Hong-Kong itself. It is worth while here to mention, that the three imperial commissioners particularly relied upon the known unhealthiness of the neighbourhood of Canton at that season, as a ground for the impossibility of keeping any large body of troops long together; and it happened, remarkably enough, that two of the high officers died as nearly as possible at the same time—one on the part of the Chinese, and one on our side. Lung-wan, one of the imperial commissioners, died of fever at Canton about the middle of June; and Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, the senior naval officer, also died of fever at Hong-Kong on the 13th of that month.

Sir Le Fleming Senhouse had partaken of all the privations of the troops on shore, and exposed himself on every occasion in which his zeal and example could serve the cause. On the 17th, his remains were removed to Macao, according to a wish which he had expressed before his death, as if he retained a lurking doubt whether Hong-Kong would not some day or other be restored to the Chinese. The Nemesis was employed to carry over his remains. At Macao, the body of the gallant veteran was interred, with all the honours due to his rank, in the English burial-ground. The loss of Sir Le Fleming Senhouse and other officers, as well as a good many men, and the prevailing sickness on board all the vessels of war and transports, at length threw a gloom over the whole expedition, which was hardly to be relieved until the expected movement upon Amoy should take place: this was accordingly looked forward to with great anxiety.

The island of Hong-Kong, which was originally ceded to us by the terms of our treaty with Keshen, but, in consequence of the disallowance of that treaty by the emperor, was afterwards only held by us by right of occupancy during the progress of hostilities, was at length confirmed as a possession of the crown of Great Britain by the ratification of the treaty of Nankin. It was proclaimed as a part of the British empire, and, together with its

dependencies, erected into a separate colony, on the 26th of June, 1843, under the designation of the "Colony of Hong-Kong."

It is difficult to ascertain what are the actual dependencies of Hong-Kong. They, probably, include all the small islands immediately adjacent to it, particularly on its southern side; but whether Lamma Island is comprised in them or not, we have little means of judging. In the proclamation, dated at its capital town, Victoria, and published by the authority of Sir Henry Pottinger, the colony is said to be situated between twenty-two degrees, nine minutes, and twenty-two degrees, twenty-one minutes, north latitude, which would give it an extent of twelve miles from north to south; so that Lamma Island, as well as the smaller adjacent islands, would appear to be included in the dependencies. The extent of the colony from east to west is not distinctly laid down, as only one meridian of longitude is given—namely, 114° 18′ east longitude from Greenwich.

The position assigned to the island of Hong-Kong in the maps is, probably, incorrect, as it does not coincide with that laid down by Sir Henry Pottinger in the proclamation. The greatest length of the island itself is from east to west—namely, eight miles; the breadth is extremely irregular, varying from six miles to about two miles only. The present capital, Victoria, extends for a considerable distance along its northern shore, and, from the nature of the ground, has of necessity been built in a very extended, straggling manner. The distance across to the mainland of China, if it can be so called, (for part of the opposite coast is probably an island,) varies considerably. The breadth of the Lyemoon Passage to the eastward is little more than a quarter of a mile, but from the town to the nearest point opposite to it is about a mile and a quarter, while the greatest breadth is upwards of four miles.

The roads of Hong-Kong and the Bay of Victoria form an excellent anchorage, having deep water very near the shore, and only one small shoal having sixteen feet of water upon it. There are, however, two disadvantages under which it labours: it is exposed to the full fury of the typhoons whenever they occur; and the high mountains of Hong-Kong intercept the genial breezes of the south-west monsoon during the hot season, when a movement in the atmosphere is most necessary, not only to moderate the sultry summer heat of a tropical climate, but to dissipate the unhealthy vapours which are generated after the heavy rains that fall, particularly during the night, at that season.

In other respects, the lake-like appearance of the harbour is beautiful; it forms a sort of basin, lying between the moun-

Konggam
N
G
16
Sokh
Tytam Hd
Chayvont
Sheagaw
TYTAM
BAY
Village
Shingshimoon Pass.
Tytam Head
Sea Miles.

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tains of Hong-Kong, and the mountains of the mainland opposite. For this reason, however, the rains are sometimes excessively heavy: the dark, threatening clouds seem banded across from one side to the other, pouring down their waters in torrents upon the basin between them. The mountain sides of Hong-Kong, steep though they are, occasionally appear almost covered with a sheet of moving water, so torrent-like do the streams pour down their declivities. To this succeeds the burning, tropical sun of July, with a sort of death-like stillness in the atmosphere, which, little influenced as it is on that side of the island by the south-west monsoon, cannot fail, if it lasts long without any change, to produce fever and sickness. Almost all tropical countries are occasionally subject to these visitations; but, as a proof that Hong-Kong is not always exposed to them, I may be permitted to mention that a gentleman who was once at anchor there, in company with a fleet of full fifty sail of merchant ships during a period of nine months, including the whole summer season, declared that he observed *no prevailing fever or sickness of any kind.*

The extremely barren appearance of nearly all the islands at the mouth of the Canton River, the deep and rugged furrows which seem to plough up their mountain sides, the exposed, rocky surface of their summits, and the absence of soil, except in sheltered spots or hollows, seem at once to point out that they are situated within the influence of hurricanes and tropical rains. In this respect, the contrast between this part of China and the Chusan Islands to the northward, is very remarkable. The latter look as rich and inviting, both near and at a distance, as the former appear inhospitable and barren. In the one case, there is an industrious and thriving population, who contrive to cultivate the surface of the mountains, frequently to their very summits, with the greatest care and nicety; in the other case, there is a hardy and adventurous population of fishermen, smugglers, and pirates; the unwilling soil is only cultivated in scattered patches, and the villages are few, and comparatively of mean appearance.

The southern side of the island of Hong-Kong was visited by Capt. Hall, when a midshipman in the squadron which conveyed Lord Amherst's embassy to China in 1816; and it is, therefore, worth while to repeat here the observations of Dr. Clarke Abel Smith upon that occasion. The bay in which the vessels anchored was near the village of Shekpywan, and was then called Hong-Kong Sound. It was described as "being formed by several small islands, by which it is land-locked on every side, and of which Hong-Kong is the principal." "As seen from the deck," says Dr. Smith, "this island was chiefly remarkable for its high,

conical mountains rising in the centre, and for a beautiful cascade, which rolled over a fine blue rock into the sea." This was in the beginning of July. The rocks on that side of the island were found approaching to basalt in compactness of structure. In ascending the principal mountain which was near, he followed the course of a delightful stream, which rises near its summit; and was much struck with the extreme barrenness of the surface of the mountain, and, indeed, of every part of the island which he was able to visit. "Yet, at a distance," says he, "it appears *fertile*, from the *abundance of fern*, which I believe to be the polypodium trechotomum, [of Kæmpfer,] which supplies *the place of other plants*."

By the side of the stream, however, he found several interesting plants. Among them the Beckia chinensis; myrtus tomentosus in abundance, and in full flower; melastoma quinquenervia; and several orchideous plants, of which he could not determine the varieties. There were a great number of ferns, but not a single moss of any species. He adds that he was unable to reach the summit of the mountain, in consequence of the excessive heat, which at eight A.M., raised the thermometer to 83° in the shade, while the sun's rays, to which he was necessarily exposed, darted through an unclouded atmosphere with an almost intolerable effect, and raised the mercury to 120°.

On his way down from the mountain, he followed a path which led over a small hill, or rather mound, differing in structure from the rocks in its neighbourhood, being composed of very friable stone, of reddish white colour, much resembling disintegrated felspar. He describes the scenery of the island as composed of barren rocks, deep ravines, and mountain torrents, with few characters of a picturesque kind. The only inhabitants he saw were some poor weather-beaten fishermen spreading their nets, and drying the produce of their toils, on the rocks which supported their miserable huts. Its cultivation corresponded with the apparent state and number of its population. Patches of rice, small plantations of yams, and a little buck-wheat, were all their visible means of vegetable support. As regards the anchorage itself, at what he calls Hong-Kong Sound, naval men described it as affording admirable shelter for ships of any burden.

Such, then, is all the information acquired at that time concerning a portion of the southern side of Hong-Kong. Little was it then thought, that this very island would, in a few years, become a part of the British empire.

The description given above of the general aspect of Hong-Kong, may be considered as tolerably correct, but, by the increase of its population since that period, and more particularly, after it became a place of resort for our ships, even before the close of the

war, the general appearance of the island gradually improved, and the population increased. At the time we took possession of the island, there was little to tempt us to make a settlement there, except the excellent anchorage on its northern side, having a passage in and out at either end, its proximity to the mouth of the Canton river, and the difficulty of finding any more suitable place for our purpose.

At the eastern end of Hong-Kong there are capital stone-quarries, which are worked with skill and facility by Chinese labourers, so that building is much facilitated; water is also abundant and generally good. A long range of mountains stretches from one end of the island to the other, of which, the highest point, called Victoria Peak, is about two thousand feet above the level of the sea; and, at the foot of the very mountain, part of the town of Victoria (and it would seem also its most unhealthy part,) is built. Now, as this range of rugged mountains extends from east to west, the harbour, and consequently the principal part of the town and places of business lying upon its northern side, it is self evident that the influence of the south-west monsoon, which prevails during the summer months, and is then most required to dissipate the vapours generated out of the earth by a tropical sun, can scarcely ever be felt on the northern side of the mountains. It has even been remarked that in *all parts of* China, places so situated as to be sheltered from the influence of the south winds during the summer season are sure to be unhealthy.

The mere temperature of a place, as shewn by the thermometer, is neither an index to its unhealthiness or otherwise, nor to the actual sensations produced by it upon the human body. For instance, at Singapore, which is situated only about seventy miles from the equator, the heat is not felt to be excessive, nor is sickness prevalent during any season of the year. Yet rain falls constantly during the night, the grass looks beautifully green even in the hottest season, and when pine apples are to be seen growing wild in the hedges, and coming to perfection. But Singapore is entirely open to the *southward*, and its atmosphere is agitated and its vapours dissipated by the refreshing sea-breezes which constantly pass over it.

The mean temperature of the month of July, 1843, at Hong-Kong was 88°, the lowest was 84°, and the highest 92°. Hence it appears, that the difference of temperature between day and night is much less than might be expected; in fact, the *lowest* temperature was only four degrees below the average temperature of the whole month. On one

occasion only, it rose to 92° during the middle of the day, and once only, fell to 84° during the night.

But, if the town of Victoria is deprived of the advantage of the south-west breezes during the hot season, it is fully exposed to the influence of the north-east monsoon during the winter months. The sudden change which takes places sometimes in a few hours, in the months of October and November, is severely felt. In the beginning of December, I have felt the cold breezes from the northward far more piercing than the hardest frost in the still atmosphere of northern regions, because the change is sudden. Hence, the practice among the Chinese, of putting on a succession of warm coats, or wadded pelisses, or taking them off one by one, according as the temperature changes, is the only safe course for Europeans to adopt. In fact, all those who visit Hong-Kong, or take up a lengthened residence there, must be provided with clothing adapted to the extremes of temperature, and be cautious not to defer the changes of costume too long; they should rather err on the side of too much than too little clothing.

Now I am upon the subject of the unhealthiness of Hong-Kong generally, I cannot omit to mention that the sickness has by no means been limited to those who resided on shore, but has to a very great extent afflicted those also who remained on board ship. Nor did it diminish so rapidly as had been expected, during the year 1843, as the season advanced and the temperature diminished. On the contrary, after being in a great measure arrested at the commencement of November, it seemed to acquire fresh virulence towards the latter end of that month. A private letter, dated November 3rd, says, "The men-of-war are reducing their sick lists. The Cornwallis has now only 104; the other day she had 160 under the doctor's hands." Another letter, dated the 28th of the same month, says, "The sickness is again as bad as ever. Each ship loses a man daily. Among the troops on shore how many are lost! Many gentlemen who have been sick, and are now recovering, are starting off for England, for health's sake."

Health committees have, however, been established, and it is hoped that some good may result from their investigations. All parts even of the northern side of the island are not equally unhealthy; and it must be remembered that a place may be very unhealthy one year, and be comparatively free from sickness the following year.* It is also remarked that the occurrence of a typhoon (though in other respects much to

* Since the commencement of the present year (1844) the sickness has nearly disappeared.

be dreaded) tends materially to improve the healthiness of an otherwise sickly place, by the violent phenomena, barometrical and electrical, which it produces, and by which all nature is affected.

Hitherto the western and eastern extremities of Victoria Bay seem to have proved most unhealthy to Europeans, the centre being less so. The left wing of the 55th, quartered at West Point barracks, lost 100 men between June and the middle of August, 1843; and at length the place was abandoned, and the rest of the men sent on board ship. At the recommendation of a health committee, the ground in the neighbourhood was ordered to be levelled and well drained. This essential measure will doubtless be resorted to in other situations; indeed, it would be a matter of the highest importance, if possible, to prohibit the cultivation of rice by the Chinese upon *any part* of the island. Wherever rice is grown, particularly within or verging upon the tropics, there must be more or less unhealthiness.

At the eastern extremity of Victoria Bay is a considerable valley, shut up by mountains on every side, except towards the sea. It is laid out almost entirely in rice-grounds, and the waters of a natural stream, descending from the mountains at the end of the valley, had been diverted from their channel, and conducted by innumerable streamlets to every part of the valley, for the irrigation of the rice-grounds. Several houses have been built upon the declivity of the hills around it, in the expectation that this would be the ultimate site of a second town, as soon as the very limited space between the mountains and the harbour, along the front of Victoria Bay, should be completely occupied, which it bids fair soon to become. The draining of this valley would essentially improve the condition of that important portion of the island.

A good road has already been nearly completed across the valley, and over the mountains to the other side of the island, leading down to Tytam Bay, and the important village of Chek Chu. Beyond this valley to the eastward, on the other side of Matheson's point, are fine bold rocks, running down to the water's edge; being also more open to the draught of air along the Lyemoon passage; this position would probably be a healthy one.

The southern side of the island, being open to the south-west monsoon, is comparatively healthy, but there is no harbour fit for mercantile purposes on that side, nor was any land appropriated there for building purposes in the first instance, because the unhealthiness of Victoria Bay was not fully ascertained, and because, where a man's treasure or his business is, there will his heart and his occupation be also. Doubtless, in a very short time many of the Europeans will reside on the southern side of the

island, and cross over the mountains daily to transact their business.

The principal Chinese village, which numbered a population of about 2000, even when we took possession of the island, is prettily situated on the southern side, in a sheltered bay, well open, however, to the south-west wind. It is called Chek-Chu, and, at the suggestion of Major Aldrich, cantonments have been formed for a detachment of troops there, so as to separate them from the Chinese population. A detachment of the 98th regiment, which was quartered there during the last season, remained almost entirely healthy; and there is little doubt that in a short time many Europeans will take up their residence in that neighbourhood.

It is extremely difficult to form any tolerable estimate of the Chinese population on the island. It varies continually, a great part of the people being migratory. When we first took the island, there were probably about 5000 Chinese upon it, exclusive of the boat-people, casual labourers from the opposite coast, and others of a migratory character. They were distributed into 14 or 15 villages or hamlets, of which the principal, as before stated, was Chek-chu, on the southern side, situated in a bay partly formed by the long irregular headland which runs out and takes the name of Tytam Head. This bay, together with Tytam Bay, will doubtless soon become a favourite spot for the retired residences of Europeans.

Since we have held possession of the island, the Chinese have naturally been attracted to it in great numbers. The tradesmen, mechanics, servants to English residents, labourers, boatmen, and market people, are all Chinese. Add to these also, a small body of Chinese police, and we shall find that the population must be considerable. In all the warehouses of the merchants, a vast number of porters and attendants are employed; all the houses are built by Chinese workmen, and a great number are also employed by government upon the public roads and works. The number of migratory, or trading people, who come down from Canton, Macao, and other parts, is also large; so that upon the whole the high estimate of 30,000, which has been given, may not be much overrated. But this number probably includes the Europeans, the number of whom, exclusive of the military, cannot be large, perhaps a very few hundreds.

The reputed unhealthiness of the town of Victoria has deterred many who otherwise contemplated establishing themselves on the island, from coming over from Macao for the present. The uncertainty which has prevailed respecting the liberty to store opium has also tended to give a check to the originally rapid

progress of the settlement. In the mean time, the Portuguese, becoming fully sensible of the deterioration of the value of property at Macao, owing to the sudden rise of a rival European settlement in their neighbourhood, began to take into consideration the propriety of rendering Macao a free port, similar to Hong-Kong; and probably without any restrictions as to opium. Great efforts have been made to effect this object, and the Portuguese governor had gone up to Canton, attended by his suite, with a view to confer with the authorities, in the hope of procuring from the government the recognition of greater privileges than they had hitherto enjoyed. This circumstance, together with the momentary pause at Hong-Kong, had tended to reassure the European inhabitants of Macao, and to raise the value of houses (which had previously fallen) from ten to fifteen per cent.*

If means should be found (of which strong hopes are entertained) of improving the condition of Hong-Kong, as regards its healthiness, no attempted rivalry of Macao could affect the new settlement to any extent. It has neither a harbour for ships to anchor in sufficiently near the town, nor ground upon which warehouses could be built, nor can the Portuguese officers ever possess more than a very restricted, and perhaps precarious authority.

The wonderful progress of our settlement at Hong-Kong, at the first outset, affords perhaps one of the most striking instances that has ever been recorded of the astonishing energy and enterprise of the British character. Great as were the early strides made even by some of the Australian colonies, situated too at the opposite end of the globe, their progress, compared with that of Hong-Kong, was slow and difficult. When our forces were assembled in the harbour of Hong-Kong, on their return from Canton, in June, 1841, there was not a single regularly built house fit for the habitation of Europeans upon the island; for the Chinese villages can hardly be taken into account. When the expedition set sail for Amoy, about two months afterwards, a few mat sheds and temporary huts were all that indicated the future site of the town of Victoria, or pointed out what was soon to become the centre of British commerce in that part of the world, and the seat of British power upon the threshold of the most populous empire the world ever saw. The first sale by auction of land, or rather of the annual quit-rents only, was held in June. On the 7th of that month, Hong-Kong was declared to be a free port, and on the 22nd, Mr.

* Macao has since been made a free port.

A. R. Johnston, the deputy-superintendent of trade, was appointed acting governor of the island.

The portion of land put up for sale, in the first instance, consisted of only 34 lots, each of which was to have a sea-frontage of about 100 feet; but the depth of each lot, of course varied considerably, according to the nature of the ground. The sale of the annual quit-rents only, payable in advance, produced no less a sum than £3,165 10*s*. yearly, at this first sale. Equally high prices were obtained on subsequent occasions. Moreover, one of the conditions of sale was, that each purchaser should be required to incur an outlay upon each lot, within the *first six* months, either in building or otherwise, of not less than 1000 dollars, or upwards of £222 sterling, and a deposit of 500 dollars was to be paid into the hands of the treasurer within one week, but was to be repayable as soon as an equal amount had been expended. Accordingly, within six months from the time above named, wonderful improvements had taken place, although much preliminary work was necessary before any solid building could be erected. In fact, the first regular house built for Europeans was not completed until September or October following; and, as it was constructed entirely by Chinese mechanics, it assumed very much the form of a Chinese house.

The government now began to form an excellent road, called the Queen's Road, along the front of the harbour, and to encourage improvements in every possible way. The elements of a regular establishment were soon formed, and the nucleus of a powerful European community was soon planted upon the borders of haughty China. Its progress from this moment was wonderful, and no stronger argument than this can be adduced to point out the *necessity* of such an emporium as Hong-Kong, and the impossibility of continuing the former state of things.

Within *one year* from the completion of the first house, not only were regular streets and bazaars for the Chinese erected, but numerous large substantial warehouses were built, mostly of stone, some already finished, and others in progress. Wharfs and jetties were constructed of the most substantial kind; the sound of the stone-mason's hammer was heard in every direction, and a good road was in progress, and an admirable market was established in English style, under covered sheds, and well-regulated by the police. The Chinese willingly resorted to it, and brought abundant supplies of every kind, readily submitting themselves to all the regulations. Large commissariat stores and other public buildings, including barracks at either end of the town, were finished. The road,

which was carried along the foot of the hills, extended already to a distance of nearly four miles, and a cut was making through a high sand-hill, in order to continue it further; and at intervals, along the whole of the distance, substantial and even elegant buildings were already erected. The numerous conical hills which distinguish this part of the island were nearly all levelled at the top, in readiness to commence building new houses: stone bridges were in progress, and the road was rapidly proceeding over the hills at the eastern end of Victoria Bay, leading down to Tytam Bay, and the picturesque village of Chek-chu.

The Chinese inhabitants seemed to fall readily into our ways and habits; their labourers and mechanics worked well and willingly for moderate pay, and came over in crowds from the opposite coast to seek work; tradesmen thronged in to occupy the little shops in the bazaars; two European hotels and billiard-rooms were completed; and, in short, every necessary, and most luxuries, could be obtained with facility at Hong-Kong, *within the first year of its permanent settlement*. Even the Portuguese missionaries came over and built a sort of convent and a chapel; the Morrison Education Society and the Missionary Hospital Society commenced their buildings; more than one missionary society made it their head-quarters, and the Anglo-Chinese College, at Malacca, was about to be removed to this more favourable spot. A small Roman Catholic chapel was nearly finished, and a neat little American Baptist chapel had been opened for divine service, being the first Protestant place of public worship ever established in that part of the world—of course, with the exception of the old company's chapel, in the factory at Canton. There was, however, no church of England service performed at that time on the island—a deficiency which happily has since been remedied.

Foreign merchants had also commenced building, and it was a curious sight to see the hundreds of Chinese labourers working upon the construction of *our* houses and roads, and flocking from all quarters to furnish *us* with supplies, and seeking their living by serving us in every way, at the very time when we were at war with their government, and carrying on hostile operations against their countrymen to the northward. At the same time, also, Chinese tailors and shoemakers were busy in their little shops making clothes for us, and Chinese stewards superintended our establishments, while Chinese servants (in their native costume, tails and all) were cheerfully waiting upon us at table: and all this within little more than one year after the *first* land-sale at Hong-Kong, and while we were still at war.

There appears to have been some little mistake in the original

site of the town, the principal part of which, or, at least, the part most inhabited by the Chinese, is situated, in a great measure, upon the declivity of the highest of the mountains which shut in the harbour. The space for building is very limited, and indeed this is the case along the whole shore. Gradually, people have spread themselves eastward along the front of the harbour, and; probably, at no very distant time, a second town will spring up at the eastern end of the harbour; indeed, the buildings already erected by Messrs. Jardine and Matheson are so extensive, as to form almost a town of themselves. But the great distance from one end of Hong-Kong, or rather of Victoria, to the other, is already a source of great inconvenience, particularly in a hot country. In a short time, the establishment of an exchange in some central part will probably be undertaken, and will go far to remedy the inconvenience.

It is unfortunate that the space between the foot of the mountains and the edge of the sea is so very limited. It would have been a great advantage to have been able to form a quay or esplanade along the front of the harbour, with warehouses and dwelling-houses in the rear. But this was not practicable; and, consequently, the back of the warehouses in most instances faces the water, which in some measure detracts from the appearance of the town, as seen from the harbour. Nevertheless, it is impossible for the stranger not to be struck with the first view of it as he approaches. He could scarcely be prepared to see so many large, handsome buildings, occupying a great extent of frontage in a settlement so recently acquired.

There are few things more striking of the kind than the view of the Bay of Victoria and the roads of Hong-Kong, from any one of the hills at its eastern end, towards Matheson's Point. The number of European vessels, Chinese junks, boats of all kinds, and the long line of handsome buildings skirting the bay, and lighted up by a brilliant sun piercing a cloudless atmosphere, present a picturesque and interesting scene, in spite of the barren mountains in the rear.

As regards the defences of Hong-Kong, it is evident that our main reliance must always be placed upon our ships of war. The two small batteries already erected could be of little service against an enemy. A plan was submitted by Major Aldrich, the commanding engineer, for forming a large fort somewhere about the centre of the bay. But this plan did not meet the concurrence of Sir Henry Pottinger, although he referred it for the consideration of the government at home.

The question of the tenure of land for the future at Hong-Kong, or rather the terms upon which it can be obtained from the

government is one of the highest importance. It is understood that it is not the intention of government to permit any land to be alienated from the crown. Future sales of land will probably be effected in the same way as the earlier ones; that is, merely the annual rental of the different lots of land will be put up to auction. No regulations upon this subject have yet been issued, and, most likely, the new governor, Mr. Davis, will have some discretionary power in fixing the precise terms upon which the *right of occupation* of land will be disposed of. The system of annual rentals to government in a colony circumstanced as Hong-Kong is,—a free port, a soil mostly barren, and an island of very limited extent,—must appear to every one the most judicious plan to adopt. A *permanent* annual fund will thus be created for the purposes of government, and one which must increase every year rather than diminish.

Hong-Kong will always possess the immense advantage of abundant labour at a reasonable rate. Any number of Chinamen which could possibly be required will always be readily obtained from the mainland.

I must not omit to mention, among the strong characteristics of English colonization, the establishment of a free press at Hong-Kong. A newspaper is usually one of the first undertakings in an English settlement. It has been said, in respect to colonization, that the first thing the French undertake is to build a fort, the Spaniards a church, and the English a factory or a warehouse; but, perhaps, it is more characteristic still, that one of the first things the English establish is a press. The Englishman carries with him his birthright of free discussion; and the power of having a good hearty grumble in *print* compensates him for many early inconveniences of a new settlement. There are four English newspapers published in China: the Hong-Kong Gazette, the Eastern Globe, the Hong-Kong Register, and the Canton Press; the last of which is published at Macao, and the other three at Hong-Kong. In the first named, all the government notices are inserted by authority.

According to the latest accounts, the Morrison Institution had been opened for some time, and the youths educating at it were making good progress. The Seamen's Hospital for the merchant service, recently opened, was calculated to afford accommodation to fifty men and officers. This institution is in a measure a self-supporting one, a certain sum being paid daily for the maintenance of each person admitted.

CHAPTER XXIII.

According to the understanding between Great Britain and the Chinese empire, certain boundaries are to be laid down within the latter, beyond which no foreigners are to pass. But there will be many difficulties in the way of preventing the violation of these regulations. Already something of this kind has occurred, and the interference of Sir Henry Pottinger has been called for. A little pamphlet has even been published at Macao, called a "Narrative of a recent visit to the Chief City of the department of Changchow, in the Province of Fokien." In this case the aggressors were not Englishmen, but Americans, and they forced their way into the country, in opposition to the wishes and orders of the local authorities, who pointed out to them that their doing so was contrary to the provisions of the treaty. It is evident that they passed themselves off for Englishmen, and were thought to be so by the authorities. Sir Henry Pottinger thought it incumbent on him to advise the viceroy and lieutenant-governor of Canton, that these individuals were not Englishmen, and to express his hope that in future the local mandarins would seize and confine all those who might commit the smallest infraction of the treaty, (if British subjects) and send them to the nearest English consular officer, to be dealt with as might be found necessary, in order to enforce implicit obedience.

A point which it seems necessary to consider, is the mutual surrender of criminals, so that English offenders who may take refuge in China may be given up to our consular officers by the Chinese authorities, and Chinese offenders who may take refuge at Hong-Kong, or on board our ships may be given up to the Chinese officers. This stipulation has already been acted upon at Hong-Kong, where a party of pirates chased ashore by the Chinese government cruisers were instantly seized by the police, and handed over to the proper Chinese officers. In fact, the more we reflect upon the position in which we now stand in presence of the Chinese government, and in the actual possession of an island upon its frontiers, the more we must become impressed with the vast responsibility which attaches to all our proceedings, and the great necessity which exists for the utmost caution, prudence, judgment, and firmness on the part of every public officer employed in our service in that country.

I have reserved all mention of the terrific storms to which Hong-Kong is occasionally exposed during the summer season.

Our squadron, after its return from Canton, was exposed to the full fury of one of these hurricanes, while it lay in the harbour previously to our advance upon Amoy. The Chinese, although ignorant of the use of the barometer, acquire from experience a tolerably accurate knowledge of the indications which determine the approach of these dreaded typhoons.

Unfortunately, Victoria Bay, although completely land-locked, lies fully exposed to the whole fury of the tempest from its beginning to its end; there is no shelter whatever on that side of the island. It is a curious and novel sight to watch the preparations which the Chinese make for the approaching storm; the mixture of superstitious observance and prudent precaution which they adopt, either in the hope of averting the threatening tempest, or of securing themselves against its immediate effects. The sultry, oppressive feeling of the atmosphere, the deep black clouds, and other indications, warn them to be prepared; and, from the noise and excitement which soon take place among the Chinese, one would rather imagine they were celebrating some festival of rejoicing than deprecating the fury of the gods. Many of their houses, on these occasions, are decorated with lanterns stuck upon long poles twenty or thirty feet high, huge grotesque-looking figures, and various devices. The beating of gongs, the firing of crackers, and explosions of little bamboo petards, from one end of the town to the other, and in all the boats along the shore, create such a din and confusion, that a stranger cannot help feeling that there must be danger at hand of some kind or other, besides that of a storm.

It is also a curious sight to watch the hundreds of boats and junks getting under weigh at the same moment, all eager to cross to the opposite shore, under shelter of the main-land, as fast as possible, knowing full well that they must be certainly stranded if they remain on the Hong-Kong side. In the high stern of every junk stands a man, who perseveringly beats a large suspended gong with his utmost strength, while the rest of the crew appear quite as intent upon firing crackers as upon the management of their boat. By this means they hope to awaken their tutelary god, and to induce him to listen to their prayers for succour. The greater part of them take refuge in a bay directly opposite Victoria, from which it is about four miles distant, under the lee of the mountains on that side.

Frequently all the threatening appearances which call forth these preparations pass off without producing a typhoon. The flashes of lightning are fearfully quick and brilliant; the peals of thunder are almost deafening; the huge black clouds hang gloomily over the mountain, or are banded across from one side to the

other, pouring their waters in torrents upon the basin between them. In this way the storm at length subsides, and the horrors of a typhoon are averted.

The actual typhoon is of a very different character; in fact, it differs in no respect from the worst hurricanes of the Mauritius or the West Indies. Hong-Kong was visited in this way on the 21st and 26th of July, 1841, and a more severe typhoon than that which took place on the first of those days is, perhaps, never experienced. The theory of these circular storms has been well laid down by Colonel Reid and others; so that in the present day a vessel caught in them at sea would be much less exposed to danger than formerly, provided her captain had made himself master of the well-confirmed theories which have been propounded upon the subject. The sphere of their operation is very limited, neither do they occur every year, but rarely oftener than every three or four years.

At Hong-Kong, various ominous appearances were the forerunners of the storm on the occasion alluded to. For some days previously, large black masses of clouds appeared to settle upon the hills on either side: the atmosphere was extremely sultry and oppressive; the most vivid lightning shot incessantly along the dense, threatening clouds, and looked the more brilliant because the phenomena were always most remarkable at night, while during the day the threatening appearances were moderated considerably, and sometimes almost entirely disappeared. The vibrations of the mercury in the barometer were constant and rapid; and, although it occasionally rose, still the improvement was only temporary, and upon the average it continued to fall. A typhoon was, therefore, confidently predicted, and the more so because none had occurred for several years.

The Chinese, on this occasion made every preparation in their power; but that comprised very little except the everlasting firing of crackers and beating of gongs, although they endeavoured also to get shelter for their boats in the best way they could. Our own ships prepared for the coming danger as well as circumstances permitted, everything being made as snug as possible. But the whole harbour was at this time crowded with transports, store-ships, and merchant-ships, in addition to our men-of-war and steamers; indeed, so close were they anchored together, that in many cases there was not even room to veer cable. It was evident to all that if the expected typhoon should burst upon them, the most serious disasters would inevitably take place. It was not without many misgivings and forebodings that, in the midst of all the preparations for the storm, and when there was every indication of its immediate outbreak, a small schooner was ob-

served to get under weigh, and stand out of the harbour towards Macao; she had treasure on board, and one or two passengers. She was never afterwards heard of; not a vestige of her was ever discovered; she must have foundered at sea, at the very commencement of the storm.

During the night of the 20th, the weather was tolerably calm, but ominously sultry; towards daylight on the 21st, it became squally, with heavy rain, and a good deal of swell was now getting up in the harbour. The barometer continued gradually to fall, and the squalls became heavier. The typhoon could no longer be doubted; and, as it was desirable to move the Nemesis as much to windward of the other ships as possible, steam was got up quickly, and with some difficulty she was moved to a good berth on the opposite side, under shelter of the high land above Cowloon. Topmasts were lowered, and everything made snug, and she was brought up with both bowers, open hawse, to the N.E., and veered to a whole cable on each.

Between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the wind was blowing very hard from the northward, or directly upon the shore of Hong-Kong, and continued to increase in heavy squalls hour after hour. Ships were already beginning to drive, and the work of destruction had commenced on every side; the Chinese junks and boats were blown about in all directions, and one of them was seen to founder with all hands on board. The fine basin of Hong-Kong was gradually covered with scattered wrecks of the war of elements; planks, spars, broken boats, and human beings, clinging hopelessly for succour to every treacherous log, were tossed about on every side; the wind howled and tore everything away before it, literally sweeping the face of the waters.

On shore, the hospital was one of the first buildings blown down upon the heads of the unfortunate inmates, wounding many, and aggravating the sufferings of all: yet only one man, a helpless idiot, was killed. The buildings being merely of temporary construction, most of them partly built of bamboo, barracks and all came tumbling down like children's card-houses. From half-past ten until two the hurricane was at its highest, the barometer at this time having descended to nearly 28° 50′ according to some, but on board the Nemesis it was never lower than 28° 89′. The air was filled with spray and salt, so that it was impossible to see anything that was not almost close at hand. Ships were now drifting foul of each other in all directions; masts were cut away; and, from the strength of the wind forcing the sea high upon the shore, several ships were driven high and dry. The native Chinese were all distracted, imploring their gods in vain for help. Such an awful scene of destruction and ruin is rarely witnessed;

hundreds of Chinese were drowned, and occasionally a whole family, children and all, floated past the ships, clinging, in apparent apathy, (perhaps under the influence of opium,) to the last remnants of their shattered boats, which soon tumbled to pieces, and left them to their fate.

During the height of the typhoon, the engines of the Nemesis were kept going at a half speed, and she rode through it very easy, without suffering any damage. But even those few vessels which did not drive were in constant danger of being run foul of by others which did; in fact, crowded as the bay was with shipping, it was a matter of wonder that even more serious damage was not done than actually did occur. The heaviest part of the typhoon appears certainly to have passed directly over Hong-Kong, for even at Macao, which is only thirty-five miles distant, it was much less severely felt, and, moreover, there was a difference of nearly four hours in the time of its occurrence; nevertheless, beyond Hong-Kong the typhoon was also very severely felt, and several ships were in the greatest danger.

It is a remakable fact, that both our plenipotentiaries, Captain Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer (who had recently returned,) were wrecked on this occasion, and only saved, as it were, by a miracle. They were on their way to Hong-Kong, in Captain Elliot's cutter, the Louisa, when the typhoon, already commencing, compelled them to anchor in not a very favourable berth, under one of the numerous islands at the mouth of the Canton river. Every measure was resorted to which good seamanship could suggest, to give any chance of safety to the little vessel, but all in vain. She soon drove—her spars and masts were carried away—a heavy, tumbling sea broke over her, washing everything overboard—the destruction of the vessel, and the loss of every one on board, seemed to be inevitable. Fragments of the numerous wrecks along the coast were floating past them every moment. Having been driven from the island under which they first took shelter, they were carried before the wind for the distance of from two to three miles, expecting every moment to be swallowed up; the commander had been already washed overboard. At length they caught sight of land right ahead, with a heavy surf breaking on it, apparently almost close to them. The suspense at this moment was intense and awful. If the vessel touched the surf, they would be launched into eternity in a moment. But providentially, the little cutter cleared the breakers, almost within reach of their spray. The anchor was now let go, but could not hold the little craft, so heavily did the sea break over her; and at length she was driven full upon the shore, where she instantly bilged and filled. Some people now jumped overboard, others

crawled on to the nearest rocks, but at length all hands got safely on shore, with the assistance of a rope, which one of the boys, who had succeeded in swimming ashore, made fast to one of the rocks.

Besides the Plenipotentiaries, several other officers were partakers of these disasters. There is little doubt that they all owed their preservation, under Providence, to the admirable seamanship and cool presence of mind of Captain Elliot himself, who took command of the little vessel during the most trying period, and whose accurate knowledge of the coast was of essential service.

These troubles, however, were not yet at an end. They managed to save very little provisions or clothing from the wreck; and the only place they could discover, in which they could shelter themselves for the night, was a large fissure in the side of a precipice, open at the top, with a small mountain stream running through the centre of it. There they anxiously awaited the dawn of morning, in a sitting posture, (for they could not lie down,) and drenched to the skin. Soon after daylight they discovered two Chinamen, who came down to pillage the wreck; and several dead bodies of Chinamen were found cast upon the shore. After some hesitation and difficulty, a bargain was at length made to convey Captain Elliot for 1000 dollars to Macao, in a fishing-boat; but, shortly afterwards, another party of Chinese fishermen, coming up from a neighbouring village, commenced robbing all the shipwrecked people, stripping them of their clothes, and, among other things, getting possession of a star of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order. In a short time, the demand for conveying Captain Elliot to Macao, as soon as the weather would permit, was raised to 2000 dollars, which was agreed to.

Difficulties seemed to multiply hourly; for, at this juncture, some of the Chinese having found two or three dead bodies of their countrymen lashed to spars, and dreadfully lacerated by being dashed against the rocks, took it for granted that this had been done purposely by Captain Elliot and his party, and for some time their threatening gestures and angry looks of retaliation seemed to portend bloodshed. This was, however, at length averted: and, ultimately, after agreeing to pay upwards of 3000 dollars, Captain Elliot, Sir Gordon Bremer, and two other persons, were laid upon their backs in the bottom of a boat, and carefully covered over with mats. Scarcely, however, had they fairly got away from the island, when another misfortune threatened to consign them to the most bitter fate. An armed mandarin-boat passed close by them, and hailed the Chinese boatmen, asking for news about the wrecks. What a prize was at this moment within their grasp! No less than 20,000 dollars had been already

offered as a reward for the capture either of Captain Elliot or Sir Gordon Bremer. Had the boatmen been treacherous enough to betray their charge, (and Captain Elliot was personally known to them,) what a grand display her Majesty's two plenipotentiaries would have made in Pekin, carried about in bamboo cages like wild beasts! What proclamations and boastings! What promotions and rewards! But, happily, this was not to be; and in a few hours, the party landed safely in the inner harbour of Macao; Captain Elliot having for his costume a jacket, without any shirt; the commodore, a blue worsted frock; and each of them a pair of striped trousers. To crown all, in this unhappy plight, the moment the two high functionaries were recognised by the Portuguese officer of the guard, the latter were ordered to "turn out," as a mark of *respect*, but were soon induced to defer it until a more fitting opportunity.

Boats were now sent off, without delay, together with an interpreter, in order to rescue the other sufferers; and at last they all arrived safely in Macao, on the 25th of July.

But it is time to return from this digression to the harbour of Hong-Kong, just at the time when the height of the typhoon had passed over. Towards noon the wind veered round a little to the southward of east; at two P.M., it began to moderate; and at three P.M., its severity had passed. Before sunset, the haze began to clear off a little, and gradually the scene of devastation became more and more visible, and presented such a frightful spectacle, that you could hardly believe that it was the same harbour of Hong-Kong, which had been recently so gay and tranquil, with crowds of shipping upon the smooth surface of its waters. The shore was covered with wrecks and stranded boats, and the temporary buildings on shore had disappeared altogether. Many of our ships were now missing, having been driven out to sea during the fury of the gale. Among the latter was H.M. schooner, Starling, about which great apprehensions were entertained. It was feared that she might have foundered, with all hands on board.

On the following morning, at daylight, the Nemesis was ordered to go out and render assistance to any vessels in distress, and to bring off people from the wrecks; and particularly to look out for the Starling, in case she should have gone on shore upon any of the neighbouring islands. In every direction immediate assistance was required, and many poor fellows were rescued by the Nemesis from a watery grave. It was curious to remark how completely every vessel that had gone on shore was torn to pieces, and in so short a space of time; every part was broken up, and the fragments were floating about the harbour and lining

the shores on every side, above high-water mark. A number of artillerymen and sappers were taken off the wreck of one of our prize war-junks which had gone on shore; and the whole crew of the Prince George merchant ship were likewise saved from one of the neighbouring islands upon which they had been wrecked; but the captain of the vessel refused to leave the island, where he vainly persisted in seeking for the body of his unfortunate wife, who was drowned when first the vessel struck.

Not being able to gain any tidings of the Starling, the Nemesis proceeded through the Capsingmoon passage, towards Lintin, in the hope that she might have taken refuge under that island. Fortunately, she was now descried beating up gallantly through the passage towards Hong-Kong, and, as soon as the steamer ran alongside, there was a general cheer of congratulation. The tale was very soon told. During the height of the typhoon, the Starling had parted a cable, and, as she was now drifting fast, Captain Kellett at once slipped the other, in the hope of being able to run through the Capsingmoon passage, as his only chance of safety. With very great exertion and good seamanship, he fortunately succeeded in the attempt, in the midst of the typhoon, and had even managed to lie-to and pick up some unfortunate Chinamen, who were floating past him upon the wreck of their shattered junk. At length, he succeeded in getting under the lee of the island of Lintin, where he brought up with a common boat's anchor, having a couple of guns fastened to the cable. By the aid of this contrivance, he rode out the gale, until it moderated sufficiently for him to get under weigh, and attempt to return to Hong-Kong. The Nemesis, however, now took the Starling in tow, and great was the surprise and joy of every one at Hong-Kong, when the two vessels were seen standing in together in safety.

In this typhoon, H.M.S. Sulphur, Algerine, Royalist, and the schooner Hebe, were dismasted; and at least twenty merchant vessels and transports were either driven ashore or dismasted, and suffered other injuries.

Five days afterwards, on the 26th, there was a recurrence of the typhoon, which the Nemesis rode out very easily in the Typa anchorage at Macao; but it was not so severe as the first, and comparatively little injury was caused by it. There is reason to believe also, that, had all the ships of Hong-Kong been moored in proper berths, and early precautions taken, before the commencement of the first typhoon, the danger and the damage inflicted would have been much less severe.

No time was lost in refitting the ships, and preparations were now hastened for the advance of our forces upon Amoy, and for

pushing on our operations further northward, while the favourable season lasted. Sir Gordon Bremer had returned from Calcutta, in the Queen steamer, on the 18th of June, having been invested with the functions of joint-plenipotentiary, in conjunction with Captain Elliot. This high honour was, however, of short duration; for, on the 9th of August, Sir Henry Pottinger arrived from England, *via* Bombay, having been appointed sole plenipotentiary and chief-superintendent of trade in China: he was accompanied by Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, by whom all the subsequent naval operations were conducted.

CHAPTER XXIV.

At the end of July, the H.C. steamer Phlegethon, Lieut. M'Cleverty, nearly the exact counterpart of the Nemesis, arrived at Hong-Kong, bringing the intelligence that Captain Elliot's treaty of Chuenpee had been disapproved of by the home government, and that Sir Henry Pottinger had been appointed to succeed him, as sole plenipotentiary. Shortly before this, also, her Majesty's 55th regiment had arrived from Calcutta, and everything indicated that a movement upon Amoy would take place as soon as possible, after the expected arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger as plenipotentiary, and Sir William Parker as admiral. The season for active operations was already advanced, and even for the sake of the health of the troops, it was the anxious wish of all the officers that a change of some sort or other might speedily take place.

In the afternoon of the 10th of August, the arrival of the H.C. steamer Sesostris, from Bombay, in the Macao roads, was announced, and great was the joy of every one when it was made known that both Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir William Parker were on board. They had come from London in the wonderfully short period of sixty-seven days, ten of which had been spent in Bombay.

At daylight next morning, the Nemesis went out to convey these high functionaries from the Sesostris, in the roads, to the town of Macao, where they were received with every demonstration of respect, under a salute from the Portuguese forts. A conference was held in the course of the morning, between Captain Elliot and Sir Henry Pottinger, together with the Admiral and Sir Hugh Gough. Energetic measures appeared to be at once resolved on. Sir William Parker went over to visit the fleet at

Hong-Kong, and as soon as visits of ceremony had been exchanged between the new plenipotentiary and the Portuguese authorities, Sir Henry Pottinger lost no time in publishing the notification of his appointment, as minister extraordinary and sole plenipotentiary, and also as chief superintendent of trade in China.

In order to communicate officially to the Chinese authorities the fact of his arrival, and the nature of his powers, Sir Henry now despatched his secretary, Major Malcolm, to Canton, as the bearer of letters to the provincial government. The Nemesis was, as usual, employed to carry the officers up the river. No little sensation was created among the Chinese officials by the announcement which was now made to them. They therefore resolved to welcome the plenipotentiary with all ceremony; and probably, also, in the hope of being able to form some estimate of his character, they despatched the prefect of the city, or kwang-chow-foo, on the 18th, to Macao, with a numerous retinue. He landed at Macao, upon the Praya Grande, near the governor's palace, attended by a great number of followers, and proceeded in state to the residence of the plenipotentiary, thinking, no doubt, that he was conferring a great honour upon his Excellency, and that he would accordingly be received with every mark of distinction. Alas, how are the mighty fallen! The ceremonious prefect was not even *received*. He, who had hitherto been courted as an officer of distinction, and had been the medium of communication, and in some sort the ambassador, between the high Chinese authorities and Captain Elliot, was now absolutely *rejected*. Sir Henry Pottinger, acting with an intimate knowledge of the Oriental character, and fully impressed with the high duties he was called upon to perform, and the high station he had to maintain as her Majesty's representative, declined to receive or hold any direct intercourse with an officer inferior to himself in rank and responsibility, and still less with one of comparatively inferior grade, such as the Prefect of Canton.

Major Malcolm, the secretary of legation, was, however, deputed to receive the prefect; and, after a short interview, the would-be great man withdrew, and returned in some dismay to Canton, to report the circumstances to his superiors. The sensation created by this little characteristic incident was very remarkable. It became the subject of conversation in every quarter, and tended to awaken much greater respect for the dignity of the new plenipotentiary. The same cautious and dignified bearing was maintained with the greatest advantage throughout the whole of our subsequent proceedings.

At Hong-Kong, the most active preparations were now made for the immediate departure of the expedition. Excellent arrange-

ments were introduced by Sir William Parker for the proper guidance of the fleet, and especially for the distribution and management of the numerous transports and store-ships. The advantage of this systematic regularity soon became evident; and it is deserving of notice that, from this period to the close of the war, the transport service was conducted with the utmost regularity and efficiency, in spite of the endless difficulties arising out of our imperfect knowledge of the coast of China, and the inaccuracy of most of the charts. Add to this, that owing to sickness and other causes, the transports were often undermanned, and had frequently the most arduous duties to perform.

By a general order of the 19th of August, issued only nine days after the arrival of the admiral, the fleet was directed to be ready to put to sea at daylight on the 21st. It was to be formed in three divisions: the centre commanded by Captain Herbert, in the Blenheim, assisted by Commander Clarke, of the Columbine; the starboard division, under Captain Bourchier, in the Blonde, assisted by Commander Gifford, in the Cruiser; while the second, or port division, was placed under Captain Smith, of the Druid, assisted by Commander Anson, of the Pylades.

The whole fleet consisted of thirty-six sail, including transports—namely, two line-of-battle ships, the Wellesley and the Blenheim; seven other ships of war—namely, the Modeste, Druid, Columbine, Blonde, Pylades, Cruiser, and Algerine; the Rattlesnake troop-ship, and the Bentinck surveying vessel; four steamers belonging to the East India Company—namely, the Queen, Phlegethon, Nemesis, and Sesostris; and twenty-one hired transports and store-ships, most of them of large size, several of not less than a thousand tons burden. The force stationed in the neighbourhood of the Canton river comprised five or six vessels of war, including the Herald and Alligator, and was under the command of Captain Nias, senior officer.

Early on the morning of the 21st, the fleet got under weigh. Sir Henry Pottinger came over from Macao, in the Queen, on that day, just as the fleet had sailed; and, as he stopped some time at Hong-Kong to inspect the place, and examine the various arrangements which had already been made, he did not join the admiral until the following day. The general rendezvous, in case of separation, was to be Chapel Island, not far from Amoy. The weather was extremely favourable during the passage up, and, on the 25th, the whole squadron reached the outer harbour of Amoy, having preserved the order of sailing remarkably well throughout.

The late plenipotentiaries, Captain Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer, sailed from Hong-Kong, and finally took leave of China

three days after the departure of the expedition, on board the Atalanta steamer, which had become completely knocked up by her work in the Canton river. Their intention was to proceed as quickly as possible to England, by way of Bombay.

The distance of Amoy from Hong-Kong is scarcely three hundred miles, and there were many good grounds for making it the first point of attack, as the expedition proceeded northward. It could not be doubted that the capture of this flourishing commercial city would be seriously felt by the Chinese government. The authorities had, within the last twelve months, spent enormous sums of money and incredible labour in the construction of batteries, which they deemed impregnable, and which were certainly capable of being stoutly defended.

The harbour of Amoy is situated in the south-western corner of an island of the same name, which, together with another called Quemoy, occupies a considerable portion of a large bay, in which, however, there are also numerous smaller islands. Of these, the most interesting, in connexion with our present subject, is that of Kolingsoo, which is separated from Amoy by a narrow passage, leading directly up to the harbour. In fact, the possession of this island, which we still retain, gives us the complete command of Amoy itself, or rather of its town and suburbs.

The scenery within the bay and about the town of Amoy is exceedingly picturesque, the appearance of the country being very mountainous and striking. Several considerable rivers pour their waters into the bay, and facilitate the communications with the interior of the country. The superiority of the harbour much exceeded the expectations of the officers.

The town of Amoy, although possessed of great commercial importance, and very wealthy, is by no means a first-class city—it ranks, indeed, only as a principal third-class town—but its inhabitants are exceedingly enterprising and intelligent, and are remarkable for a certain disposition for emigration and colonization, as well as for their love of commerce. They were the principal colonizers of the flourishing island of Formosa, which lies opposite to Amoy, extending itself along the coast for a distance of little less than two hundred miles; and they are to be found in great numbers in more remote islands, subject even to foreign dominion, such as Java, Singapore, Manilla, &c.

The city and suburbs of Amoy can hardly be less than eight or ten miles in circumference, and they are in a great degree commanded by a fortified hill or citadel in the rear, which, however, is again commanded (as is very commonly the case in China) by unfortified heights beyond it to the eastward. The suburbs, or outer town, are separated from the principal or inner town by a

line of steep, rocky hills, which run transversely down to the beach; but a paved road or narrow causeway leads into the city, through a pass which is protected by a covered gateway at its summit. As there is, therefore, what may be called a double town, so is there also a sort of double harbour—the outer running along the face of the outer town, and the inner extending along the front of the principal town, and joining a large estuary, which runs deep into the island across its centre, and skirts the northern side of the city. In this manner, nearly two-thirds of the city of Amoy are washed by the sea. In fact, it stands upon a corner or tongue of land, having a line of bold mountains in its rear and on its flank. The walls are castellated at top, and vary in height, according to the nature of the ground, from twenty to thirty feet. There are also, as in other places, four principal gates, having each an outwork or outer wall, with a court or open space between them, and a second gate leading from this, and placed at right angles to the inner one, so that the approach to it from the outside is commanded by the principal wall of the town.

The citadel of Amoy was afterwards found to contain a large supply of military accoutrements—ginjals, matchlocks, swords, shields, and spears of all kinds; there was also an immense quantity of gunpowder, and materials for making it; in short, there was every reason to believe that Amoy had been made use of as the great military depôt of the province. It is impossible to form even a tolerable estimate of the number of troops collected for the defence of the place, but the different accounts which were received varied from six thousand to eight or ten thousand men. It was also known that the high officers of the province had come down to Amoy purposely to encourage the defence, and to witness, as they hoped, the utter discomfiture of the barbarians. It was, however, upon their newly-constructed works that they placed their great reliance.

Numerous forts and field-works had been erected upon nearly all the smaller islands which stretch across the mouth of the great bay; and upon the island of Amoy itself a succession of batteries and field-works had been built to command the approach to the town. The principal of these was a long stone battery, well built of granite, *faced with earth*, extending along the shore nearly up to the suburbs of the city, and designed to command the passage to the harbour. It presented a line of guns a full mile in length, the embrasures being covered with large slabs of stone protected by earth heaped upon them, and mounting no less than ninety-six guns. In the rear of this battery there was a range of steep, rocky heights, up the side of which the Chinese had carried a

strong castellated wall to serve as a flanking defence to the battery.

Still further to defend the approaches to the city, they had also strongly fortified the little island of Kolingsoo, between which and Amoy the passage is not more than six hundred yards across; this island is, in fact, the key of Amoy, and was retained in our possession when the city and the island of Amoy were restored to the Chinese. At that time the Chinese had already mounted upon the works, either completed or in progress, no less than seventy-six guns. Indeed they had spared no labour to endeavour to render Amoy capable of easy defence; although, from want of skill and discipline, the resistance which they offered was comparatively trifling. If the number of guns alone could indicate the strength of a place, the Chinese might have had some grounds for confidence; for, as Sir Hugh Gough remarked, "every island, every projecting headland whence guns could be made to bear, was occupied and strongly armed." In fact, there were altogether not less than five hundred guns captured at Amoy and the adjacent islands.

Early on the morning of the 26th of August, everything was in readiness for the projected attack. The captains and commanders repaired on board the flag-ship for orders; the steamers were all smoking and blowing off their spare steam, and the officers were all anxiously looking for the expected signal to stand in and engage the batteries. Before active operations commenced, however, it was thought right to make a reconnoissance of the defences which were to be attacked. With this view Sir Hugh Gough, Sir William Parker, and the plenipotentiary, stood in on board the Phlegethon, and were able to approach sufficiently close to the works to observe all that was necessary, without having a single shot fired at them.

In the meantime a messenger, supposed to be a Chinese merchant, came off from the town, under a flag of truce, requesting to know the object of the visit of so large and formidable a squadron. The answer to this question was simple enough, and was sent in the name of the plenipotentiary, the general, and the admiral, to the effect that "they required that the demands made last year at Tientsin, (near Pekin,) by Captain Elliot, should be complied with; and that hostile measures would, if necessary, be adopted to enforce them. Nevertheless, that as the plenipotentiary and the commanders-in-chief were moved by compassionate feelings, and were unwilling to cause the death of so many officers and soldiers as must perish, they were willing to allow all the officers and troops in the town to retire with their personal arms and baggage, in order to save the people from being hurt, upon con-

dition that the town and fortifications of Amoy should be at once delivered into the hands of the British forces, to be held for the present by them." A white flag was to be exhibited from the fortifications, if these terms were acceded to; otherwise, hostilities would commence. As might be expected, the white flag was *not* displayed.

The morning was very hot and sultry; but about one o'clock a steady, favourable breeze set in, and the squadron got under weigh. The plan was, to make a simultaneous attack upon all the batteries at once, both against those upon Amoy and those upon Kolingsoo. The troops were also to be landed, with the object of taking the batteries in the rear; and the Nemesis and Phlegethon steamers were to be employed to convey them to the appointed place of debarkation.

The ships were likely to bear the chief brunt of the engagement; but Sir Hugh Gough made every disposition for the employment of the land forces, and his general order, issued just before the attack was to take place, deserves especial notice. He directed his remarks very strongly to the question of plundering; and observed, that "as Amoy was a large commercial port, and there had once been an English factory there, it was highly important that no act should be committed which could tend to embarrass our future friendly intercourse. The government and the military were to be overcome, and public property taken possession of, under certain instructions, but *private property* was to be held inviolable; and that which in England," observed the general, "obtains the name of robbery, deserves no better name in China." The camp-followers were made liable to be *put to death* for plundering; and orders were issued to punish on the spot any man straggling from his corps.

This alone will suffice to point out that the expedition was very far from possessing that buccaneering character which some persons, particularly foreigners, attempted to cast upon it. Indeed, it may safely be asserted, that war was never carried on with so little infliction of suffering upon the people generally as in China. Generally speaking, the people soon learned to appreciate our motives; and unless prevented by their *own officers*, they commonly showed a friendly, or at all events a neutral feeling towards us. Besides the English, the privilege of trading at Amoy was formerly held by the Spanish also; and, at no very remote period, a regular intercourse was kept up between Amoy and the Spanish colony of Manilla.

It was probable that the nature of the country round Amoy would render brigade movements inadmissible; but the troops were to be prepared to form in three brigades, if necessary. The

men were to land in jackets, caps, and coats folded; and were to carry, each man, one day's cooked provisions. The artillery were to be in readiness to land their light, mountain guns.

About half-past one, the attack commenced on our side; but the Chinese had already begun the engagement, by firing occasional shots at our ships, as they proceeded with a steady and favourable breeze to their respective stations. The Sesostris and Queen steamers led in; the former commencing the action, but receiving a heavy fire before she returned it. The line-of-battle ships, Wellesley and Blenheim, under Captains Maitland and Herbert, proceeded to the extremity of the long stone battery, nearest the suburbs, where they anchored by the stern, about half-past two P.M., within four hundred yards of the works, and at once opened a heavy fire upon the principal battery.

The next in order along the front of these works, from the suburbs towards the outer extremity, were the Pylades, Columbine, Cruiser, and Algerine. Simultaneously with this attack upon Amoy, the Blonde, Druid, and Modeste, reached their allotted stations, against the works of Kolingsoo; but, owing to the shallowness of the water, they were boldly carried on, in little more than their own draught,

The roar of the artillery on every side, echoed by the mountains around, was now terrific; and in one hour and twenty minutes the three principal batteries on Kolingsoo were silenced, and the marines under Captain Ellis, about one hundred and seventy in number, were landed on that island, and took possession of the heights in the rear, without any loss. Three companies of the 26th regiment had also been appointed to this service, but the distance of the transports permitted only a small detachment of them, under Major Johnstone to land in time to assist in clearing the batteries. The small detachment of the Royal Artillery, under Lieut. the Hon. R. E. Spencer, were actively employed on board the Blonde, during the attack.

During these operations against the batteries on Kolingsoo, and against the long battery on Amoy, the Phlegethon and Nemesis were speedily brought up with the troops ready to land. The Nemesis had taken on board the general and his staff, together with the 18th Royal Irish, under Colonel Adams; and had also to tow up a number of boats, with the sappers and miners, followers, &c. Considerable delay was therefore occasioned by having to run up to the different transports to embark detachments, and also to pick up the boats; and it was not until half-past three that the Nemesis could get into action. She then opened fire at the long battery with her heavy guns and rockets, as she approached the lower angle of the fort for the purpose of

landing the troops. It was just about this time, that as the Phlegethon was also running up towards the battery, a boat was despatched by Lieut. M'Cleverty, in which Lieut. Crawford volunteered his services to capture a small outwork upon a hill, very near the beach; and it was here that the British flag was first displayed upon the enemy's works, on that day, with three cheers from the steamers.

About a quarter before four, the general landed upon the beach, near the flank of the great battery, with the 18th and 49th regiments, which were carried in by the Nemesis and Phlegethon steamers. The disembarkation was conducted by Commander Giffard, of the Cruiser. The 18th was directed to escalade the castellated wall which flanked the battery; and, as already described, ran up the hill-side from the beach, nearly at right angles to it. At the same time, the 49th were to move along the beach towards the lower angle of the battery, and either get over it at its sea-face, or force their way through the embrasures.

A smart fire was kept up from the Nemesis, to cover the landing and advance of the troops; and Capt. Hall himself, anxious to take an active part in every operation, pushed off from the steamer, in the pinnace manned and armed, accompanied by Mr. Gully, who, as an old and brave friend, volunteered to go with him. This was the same gentleman who afterwards fell a victim to the rapacity and cruelty of the Chinese authorities on the island of Formosa, upon which he had the misfortune to be wrecked, and, after seven months' imprisonment and cruel treatment, was at length executed, together with nearly all his companions.

As soon as Capt. Hall and his friend had landed with the crew of the pinnace, they joined the advanced guard of the 18th, under Major Tomlinson and Lieut. Murray, who were advancing towards the lower end of the castellated wall. The Chinese opened a smart fire of ginjals and matchlocks as they approached, which was returned by the advancing party, who took advantage of the numerous little hillocks and tombs which lay in their way, to shelter themselves while they re-loaded.

The Chinese, finding their enemy pressing up towards the wall, and being already bewildered by the admirable firing of the ships, now began to slacken their fire. The 18th rushed for the lower end of the wall, while the party from the Nemesis made a dash at its flank, some way higher up, near a gateway, where the wall appeared less elevated and more accessible. They had, however, brought no scaling-ladders, and, in order to get over the wall, the men were obliged to be lifted up on each other's backs. In this way Capt. Hall managed to get first upon the top of the wall, and instantly waved the British flag in token of triumph.

Others soon followed; and the Chinese, the moment they saw their enemies upon the walls, fired two or three random shots, and fled. At this time also the 18th got over the wall lower down, while the 49th forced their way through the embrasures, just at the angle of the sea-face of the great battery. The fire of the ships had not yet ceased, when the party from the Nemesis got down into the body of the fort, and several of our large shot fell close around them.

They now observed that a very short distance in advance two Chinese officers of high rank, on horseback, were endeavouring to make their escape, surrounded by a numerous body-guard, or retinue. The opportunity for trying to take an important prisoner was a tempting one; and Capt. Hall, little thinking how few of his own men were near him, and carried away by the impulse of the moment, rushed headlong upon the Chinese soldiers in front of him, firing his pistols at the two principal officers. Only two of his own men were near him at the moment; so that one of the inferior Chinese officers, seeing the disparity, rallied a few of his men, and suddenly faced about, with a view to cut them off. A personal encounter now took place with the Chinese officer, who was a remarkably fine young man, bearing the white button. The long sword, however, soon had the advantage over the Chinese short one, even putting aside personal prowess, and the mandarin fell, severely wounded in the arm. He was immediately disarmed, and his cap and button, together with his sword, were taken from him as trophies. Several other soldiers now came up, to endeavour to rescue their officer, who got up and tried to escape, but another wound in the leg soon brought him down again, and made the other Chinamen halt. By this time, Capt. Hall and his two men were nearly surrounded, and were compelled to fight their way back again towards their comrades who were coming up to their aid. One of the two seamen received a severe wound in the groin from the thrust of a spear, but the others got off without any injury. The young wounded mandarin was at last safely carried off by his comrades.

The Chinese were now in full flight in every direction, followed by the 18th, 49th, and a party of small-arm men, who were landed from the Wellesley and Blenheim, some way up the sea-face of the fort, under Commander Fletcher and other officers of those ships. The fort was soon completely in our possession. During all the operations of this day, Sir Henry Pottinger and suite were with the admiral on board the Wellesley.

On examining the sea-face of the battery, it was impossible not to be struck with the amazing solidity of the wall. It was composed of hewn granite, faced outside with earth, and of such

strength, that the heavy firing of two line-of-battle ships against it, at the distance of only four hundred yards, had made very little impression; indeed, it might be said to be shot-proof The embrasures were something like low port-holes, covered with stone and earth, and in the space between them were sheds, or a sort of temporary watch-boxes, in which was found a quantity of arms of every kind, clothes, half-cooked food, and also *opium*, with the common pipes used for smoking it. A horse also was found. The guns were many of them very ill-mounted, and in general the carriages were badly contrived, and often defective. In some places bags of sand were laid on the top of the guns, to prevent them from jumping out of the carriages altogether. The fort had evidently been armed hastily.

Several high Chinese officers fell during this day; some, probably, by their own hands. One of them very quietly rushed into the water and drowned himself, although, in the report of the affair to the Emperor, it was afterwards stated that he "rushed on to drive back the assailants as they landed, and *fell into the water*, and died." This officer was the Chinese commodore, who commanded in the absence of the *admiral*. The latter had left the port just before our arrival, (boasting that he was going to *meet* the barbarians,) and, having sailed northward, could not get back again, owing to the contrary wind.

Before five o'clock, the whole of the outer defences of Amoy were in our possession. The Blonde and Modeste, as soon as they had silenced the batteries on Kolingsoo, with the assistance of the Druid, had pushed on into the inner harbour, and captured twenty-six war-junks, mounting not less than one hundred and twenty-eight guns; they were nearly ready for sea, but were deserted by their crews. A large building-yard was discovered, with an immense quantity of timber collected in it; and there was a good-sized frigate-junk, of about three hundred tons, in course of building, in a regular dry dock, something after the European model; they had, evidently, made a great step in advance in the art of ship-building: indeed, the longer the war lasted, the more the Chinese found themselves led on, by the "impulse of necessity," to attempt great changes, and, in many respects, improvements, not only in their vessels, but in their warlike weapons, and other matters relating to the art of defence.

The Nemesis, in running along the shore to avoid the swell which was setting in, unexpectedly found herself within a circular patch of coral rock, which was not visible above the surface. Several fruitless attempts were made to extricate her from this curious position, but the entrance by which she had got into it could not again be found; however, her draught of water being

very small, it was thought likely that she would be able to force her way over the reef, without suffering much damage to her iron hull, and she dashed at it at half speed. The blow, however, was more severe than was expected; the vessel bounded completely over the reef; but the sharp coral rock cut completely through her bottom, making a considerable leak in the engine-room. This was fortunately stopped from the *inside* without much difficulty, and no further notice was taken of it until some time afterwards, when she arrived at Chusan, where the damage was substantially repaired.

In the mean time Sir Hugh Gough pushed on without delay, to occupy a chain of steep, rocky hills, which, running transversely down to the beach, lay between the great fort and the town, so as to intercept the view of the latter. A strong body of the Chinese seemed disposed to defend this position, which was naturally of great strength, and completely commanded the approach to the city. Immediate advantage was to be taken of the prevailing panic: and the 18th and 49th regiments being directed to advance partly up a steep gorge, and partly by a more circuitous road leading round the hills, soon made themselves masters of the heights overlooking the city. The Chinese, firing their guns and matchlocks, retreated before them. Our troops bivouacked for the night upon the positions they occupied; but they might have been a good deal harassed by the Chinese, if the latter had taken advantage of the rocky, broken character of the ground to dispute their further advance. The night was bitterly cold upon the heights.

At daylight a reconnoissance was made, and it was soon discovered that little resistance was to be expected. Great confusion and bustle were apparent in all directions; hundreds of the inhabitants were hurrying out of the northern gate, carrying with them their most valuable property; in fact, there was evidently a general panic. Without loss of time, therefore, the 18th, supported by the 49th, were ordered to march down towards the city in the direction of the eastern gate, which was the nearest while Capt. Cotton, the commanding engineer, was directed to examine carefully the approaches to the gate itself.

The advanced party of the 18th, on arriving at the gate, found that there was no preparation for resistance, and soon scaled the walls by means of some ladders, which were very opportunely found not far from the gate. Heaps of rubbish and sacks full of earth and sand were found piled up inside against the gate, so that some time was required to get it open. It was now discovered that the authorities and all the soldiers had abandoned the town, leaving every thing in the utmost disorder, so that the only pro-

tection which the more respectable and peaceably-inclined inhabitants had to look for, from the violence and plundering of *their own rabble*, was from the presence of our troops and the military government of the city by the victorious captors. Already the mob had begun to ransack some of the public establishments before we found out where they were situated; and it was afterwards discovered that a good deal of treasure must have been carried away by the thieves and vagabonds of the town. A number of men were found carrying out of the gates something having the appearance of common logs of wood; and it was not suspected, until too late, that these logs were hollowed out, and filled with Sycee silver—a very ingenious contrivance to escape detection. A small quantity of treasure was found in one of the large buildings, supposed to be the office of the commandant, which was occupied by the sappers and miners.

Most of the public offices were large and roomy buildings, affording good accommodation for a whole regiment of soldiers. The pile of buildings belonging to the admiral's department was assigned to the 18th and the staff, being within the walled town; while the 49th were quartered in the outer town, in a large building belonging to the office of the Intendant of Circuit. The 55th occupied an extensive range of buildings belonging to the Prefect of Amoy; the artillery retaining possession of a commanding position, overlooking both the city and the outer town. The total number of troops employed during the operations was about 2,500.

Numerous patrols were found necessary, by day and night, in order to preserve quiet in the public streets, and to check the boldness and rapacity of the swarms of Chinese thieves and rogues who hovered about in every part of the city, and crowded in from the country the moment the respectable inhabitants left the town. The inhabitants themselves were, in many instances, afraid even to defend their own property, or to aid our troops in restoring order and regularity; they dreaded the probable imputation of having traitorously aided the foreigners, and the fear of extortion and punishment from their own authorities, at some future period, served to disorganize the whole community. In vain did Sir Hugh Gough appeal to the more respectable merchants and householders to aid him in protecting property; all that he could get from them was empty promises, of which they were very liberal, but from which no good result followed. Even within the citadel, or walled town, it was with the utmost difficulty that the daring thieves and vagabonds could be kept in check; and hardly could even a single Chinaman be induced to point out to the guards at the gate the real *bonâ fide* owners of

houses and property, in order that they might be allowed free egress and ingress.

The injury which the inhabitants of many Chinese towns suffered during our operations, must not be estimated by the actual damage (generally trifling) done by our fire, or by the presence of our troops. In most instances, even before hostilities commenced, the presence of the *Chinese troops*, who were marched in probably from several distant provinces, became almost a scourge to the inhabitants; and, afterwards, when a town was taken, and the local government disorganised, much greater damage was done to the property of the people by the low mob, of plunderers, than would, under any circumstances, have been allowed by our victorious soldiers; indeed, some instances occurred in which the former were shot by our guards, rather than desist from their evil doings.

Our men often resisted temptations of no ordinary kind; houses were found abandoned, property left untouched, shops open, and goods strewed about; and even the abominable spirit, samshu, (distilled from rice) was sometimes almost purposely placed in their way. The instances of misconduct were few, even under these peculiar circumstances.

Among other discoveries, was one calculated to corroborate at first sight the notion of the prevalence of infanticide among the Chinese. In a large tank near a public building, by some supposed to have been an hospital, were found the dead bodies of several young infants which had been drowned, having been thrown in, sewn up in pieces of mat. But there was nothing to determine whether the horrid deed was done out of fear that violence might be offered to the women and children, or whether it was really an instance of the practice of infanticide, which has been said to prevail in China to a much greater extent than it really does. The former explanation may possibly in this instance, as in some later ones, be the true one.

The interior of the island of Amoy was not occupied, or even examined, for it was feared by the General, that the presence of our troops would so much alarm the respectable and influential inhabitants, that the whole place would be given up to the rapacity and lawlessness of the innumerable miscreants, who watched for every opportunity of letting loose all their bad propensities; but the Nemesis, accompanied by the Algerine, and having in tow the launch and pinnace of the Blonde, was ordered to steam round the island, and search for war-junks. None, however, were found.

The island of Kolingsoo appeared so completely to command the harbour and approach to Amoy, that it was the opinion of Sir

Henry Pottinger, in which the General and the Admiral coincided, that no measures should be taken for the permanent occupation of the city, and that a small garrison only should be left at Kolingsoo, while the remainder of the expedition should move further northward with the least possible delay. It was necessary, however, to wait a day or two for favourable winds, and measures were taken for the destruction of the numerous works which had been constructed upon the outer islands.

The Nemesis was employed on this important service on the 30th and 31st. Having been joined by two launches and other boats, with a party of seamen and marines from the Wellesley, Blenheim, and Druid, under Commander Fletcher, she proceeded to destroy some forts and guns, principally on the south-west side of the bay, all of which had been abandoned by the Chinese. On this occasion, five forts or field-works and forty-two guns were taken possession of and destroyed, and on the following day several others of the same kind were disabled. A body of Chinese soldiers, who shewed themselves on a small fort on the island of Quemoy, at the eastern entrance of the bay, were dispersed, and several guns, matchlocks, ginjals, &c., together with the fort, were destroyed by Capt. Hall and his crew. Altogether seventy-seven guns and four forts were destroyed in this day's work, and the admiral publicly spoke of the "very commendable zeal" which had been displayed.

At Amoy, for the first time, the so-called tiger soldiers shewed themselves—that is, men dressed up in yellow-coloured clothes, with black spots or stripes upon them, and a covering for the head, intended to be a rude representation of a tiger's head, supposed to look very fierce, and to strike terror into the minds of the enemy.

The island of Kolingsoo, which had been retained in our possession ever since its capture deserves a few remarks. It is about a mile and a half in length, and about three quarters of a mile broad, but is very irregular in its shape. It principally consists of rocky broken ground, the greater part of which is barren, but interspersed with unwholesome rice-grounds, which have contributed to render the place extremely unhealthy; indeed at one period, the mortality among the troops stationed there was dreadful, scarcely a single officer having escaped sickness, which proved fatal to many. The Chinese, however, seemed to have suffered little from it, for there were several neat and even elegant country-houses upon the island, ornamented with handsome carved wood-work, &c. It seemed to have been used as a place of retirement for some of the wealthier citizens of Amoy, and our retention of a place so conveniently situated for giving us the

command of the harbour and trade of the city, was a source of great annoyance, both to the authorities and to the inhabitants.

For a considerable time, very little communication was kept up with the town, and it was scarcely safe to venture into it; but since the peace, every disposition has been shewn to receive us in a friendly manner, and the knowledge which many of the Chinese merchants have acquired of our character and habits, by trading with Singapore, will tend materially to facilitate our future commercial intercourse.

Several American missionaries have resided at Kolingsoo, and, without doubt, will, at no distant period, succeed in winning the attention and good-will of many of the inhabitants of Amoy. If China is really to be opened, it is to be effected by missionary enterprise, cautiously and judiciously, and, above all, not too hastily applied. The most valuable of all aids to these undertakings is that of medical knowledge, which may be considered as almost indispensable to the proper character of a missionary in China. The relief of bodily suffering (above all, in a country where the medical art is so low as it is in China) softens the feelings of our nature, and paves the way for kinder influences over the mind itself. It will open the family mansion of the most secluded and prejudiced Chinese, when words or doctrines *first* propounded would meet an unwilling, or, perhaps, a hostile listener. Religious teaching and the practice of the healing art, the comfort of the suffering mind, and the solace of the tortured body, must go hand in hand in effecting the good work of "opening" China.

The garrison left by Sir Hugh Gough upon the island of Kolingsoo consisted of three companies of the 26th regiment, with a wing of the 18th, and a small detachment of artillery, comprising altogether about five hundred and fifty men; the whole under the command of Major Johnstone, of the 26th; and the Druid, with the Pylades and Algerine were also to remain there, under the command of Capt. Smith, C.B., as a further support, to ensure the complete command of the harbour of Amoy.

In the afternoon of the 4th of September, the weather having become calm and fine, the preconcerted signal for the embarkation of the troops from the town and island of Amoy was made on board the flag-ship. Upon this sudden order, the troops were paraded in perfect regularity, without a single instance of drunkenness or misconduct, after eight days of harassing duty on shore, amid temptations of every kind. Under the direction of Commander Giffard, of the Cruiser, the whole force was embarked without any accident, by half-past six o'clock, on board the Nemesis and other steamers, which conveyed them out to their respective transports, in readiness to sail on the following day.

Not even a camp-follower was left behind (and they are generally a very troublesome class;) but, in order to make sure that there was no straggler, the Nemesis was afterwards sent in again to the town to bring off any one that might accidentally have been left. But the only straggler which was found, happened to be a fine *fat bullock*, which was soon put on board the Nemesis and carried off.

Every preparation was now completed for the departure of our forces on the following morning, the 5th of September.

All who have visited Amoy, either out of curiosity or on business, appear to agree in regarding it as a place peculiarly adapted for the extension of European trade. The mercantile spirit and enterprise of its inhabitants, and their anxious desire to trade with foreigners, when not held back by the arbitrary orders of the mandarins, have been long known and recorded by several travellers, before there was any prospect whatever of the trade being opened. The English, who had formerly a factory at Amoy, were compelled to relinquish the trade by the severe extortions to which they were subject. The Dutch continued it for a longer time, but neglected it when their influence at Formosa ceased. The natives of Amoy have always shewn themselves ready to cultivate the friendship of foreigners, wherever they have been, and in their dealings they have a character for honesty beyond all other Chinese. They are more ambitious of successful mercantile enterprise than of literary distinction or advancement, which is generally so dear to a Chinaman.

The shops of Amoy are generally well supplied with the necessaries and luxuries of life, the merchants are civil, and, although the town is neither handsome nor very cleanly, and the population in some parts of it densely crowded together, still there are many fine houses, which indicate the possession of wealth and consequence.

An immense trade is carried on between Amoy and the island of Formosa, to which a great number of emigrants are even still attracted from the province of Fokien. Before the occupation of Hong-Kong was thought of, several proposals were made for forming a British settlement upon Formosa, as being conveniently situated for extending our trade with the inhabitants, not only of the adjacent district of Fokien, but of the whole coast of China. This suggestion was partly encouraged by the recollection of the settlement which the Dutch once possessed upon the island; but it seemed to be forgotten that the Dutch were at length forcibly expelled, and that, the population having greatly increased since that period, it is not likely that we should be suffered to retain possession of any part of the island without being constantly

harassed and provoked to bloodshed; moreover the privilege of trading with Amoy does away with all probability of advantage to be derived by direct trade with Formosa.

Among other proposals, that of a settlement upon the Bonin islands (which are said already to belong to Great Britain) was suggested, with a view to commercial enterprise with China; and Mr. Tradescant Lay warmly supported this notion. These islands were taken possession of by Captain Beechey, of H.M.S. Blossom, in 1827, and they extend from latitude 27°, 44′, to 26°, 30′ N., being about five days' sail from the Lew-Chew islands, and three from Japan. In the course of a few years, it is not improbable that Port St. George, the principal harbour, may be resorted to, with the object of pushing our trade even into Japan itself. At the present moment, indeed, several Englishmen and other Europeans are settled there, and are principally concerned in the whale fishery. There are also a good many natives of the Sandwich Islands at Port St. George. The islands are volcanic, but are rendered productive with moderate cultivation. The Bonin Islands and the Sandwich Islands lie directly in the line of future intercourse between China and the west coast of America, and it has been thought not improbable that a new route to China may some day be opened, by way of California and the islands above-named.

Formosa has claimed our particular interest since the massacre of so many of our shipwrecked countrymen by the authorities, shortly before the termination of the late war. In this horrible tragedy no less than 283 human beings were put to death in cold blood, without any other crime than that of helplessness, and without any other object than that of obtaining rewards by fabricated statements, and honours by false pretences. Formosa was the last conquest of the present Tartar dynasty, and even since it has been brought under Chinese dominion, the rebellions and disturbances of its unruly inhabitants have been a frequent source of alarm to the government. The imperial troops have often been defeated with great slaughter, and peace is said to have been purchased by bribes more frequently than it has been won by conquest. The aboriginal inhabitants are still numerous in the mountain districts, and along some parts of the eastern shores, but they are said to be much oppressed by the Chinese colonists and also by the authorities.

When the Tartars first began the conquest of China, great numbers of discontented spirits went over to Formosa, from the neighbouring provinces, and it has been recorded that 100,000 people took refuge there. The island belongs to the province of Fokien, along which it is situated, at a distance varying from 70

to 120 miles, the passage between it and the mainland being called the Formosa channel. The length of this island is about 220 miles, but the breadth is extremely irregular. The Chinese population is at present supposed to amount to above *two millions*, and is constantly on the increase, by the accession of an influx of emigrants from the mainland adjacent. They are attracted thither by the fertility of the soil, and the great facilities for cultivating sugar and rice, which are there grown to an extent sufficient to supply a vast quantity of these necessary articles to the inhabitants of the mainland, and to employ several hundred trading junks in the traffic.

The Dutch contrived to establish themselves upon the island of Formosa, and ultimately to form a factory there, before the Tartar conquest, and before it was regularly colonized by the Chinese. The Japanese also partly contributed, though in small numbers, to colonize the island. The Dutch had a small garrison at a place called Tanshuy, or Tamsui, at the northern extremity of the island, and another at Kelung, not very far from it. Their object was to make use of their settlement as a depôt, or centre of trade, from which their operations could be extended along the coast of China and Japan. Their influence was, however, of very short continuance, as they were ultimately completely driven out of the island, after some few struggles, by the famous pirate, Coxinga, in 1662, about thirty or forty years after they had fairly established themselves on it.

The present capital of the island is built upon the site of the principal Dutch factory of former times, and is called Ty-wan-foo; it is upon the west coast, some distance down towards its southern end. The harbour has, however, become almost inaccessible, except to vessels of very light draught of water, owing to the accumulation of sand, which is thought to change its place frequently. Indeed the sea has gradually continued to retire from many parts of the coast, and harbours which were once frequented are at present inaccessible.

From the expulsion of the Dutch to the period of our operations upon the coast of China, little seems to have been known or heard of Formosa; and, owing to the jealousy of the Chinese and other causes, no attempt seems to have been made to explore the island. The colonists are described as being generally very turbulent and given to violence, as it has become a place of refuge for all the bad characters who can manage to escape from the mainland; but it is also the home of many respectable and enterprising settlers; although, being removed from the control of the superior officers of the province, they live with less restraint, and therefore readily become bold and lawless. For the same

reason, the local mandarins are cruel, rapacious, and ignorant; and their behaviour towards our unfortunate countrymen will suffice to stamp them with the character of treachery and thorough baseness. But the cultivation and prosperity of the island have increased in a rapid and remarkable manner; and it is evident that British manufactures will soon be spread among its numerous population, through their intimate connexion with Amoy.

Besides furnishing immense supplies of rice, Formosa also produces great quantities of sugar, camphor, and tobacco, which are exported to Amoy. A great part of the camphor is already carried down to Singapore in the trading-junks from Amoy, but probably our own trading vessels will henceforth procure supplies of it on the spot, in exchange for cotton and other manufactured articles.

Unruly as the people of Formosa are, the island is, nevertheless, somewhat famous for its schools, which are said to be in a flourishing condition. Mr. Gutzlaff states, that the rich men of Fokien frequently send their sons over to obtain literary degrees at Formosa; and the Dutch, at an early period, took pains to spread Christianity among the inhabitants, who, at that time, were comparatively few in number. A few books on Christianity were translated by them into the Formosan language, and they were very successful in making converts. Since they abandoned the island, however, nearly all traces of their early labours have disappeared. The close connexion of Formosa with Amoy will probably be the means of reviving among the inhabitants some of the lost spirit of Christianity; for we cannot doubt that, in all parts of China, the increase of missionary labour will keep pace with the increase of commercial intercourse.

The wreck of the Nerbudda transport, on her way up to join the expedition with camp-followers, in the month of September, 1841, soon after our forces left Amoy, and the loss of the brig Ann, a trading vessel, on her way down to Macao, from Chusan in the month of March following, upon the shores of Formosa, served to attract unusual attention towards that island, and to put us in possession of some little information respecting the interior.

The history and ultimate fate of our shipwrecked countrymen is calculated to awaken the most painful interest. On board the Nerbudda there were altogether 274 people; of whom, 29 were Europeans, two natives of Manilla, and 243 natives of India. The captain and the rest of the Europeans, with the two Manilla men, and only three Indians, got away in the ship's boats immediately after she struck, and were providentially picked up

some days afterwards by a trading schooner, called the Black Swan, on her way down to Hong-Kong. The unfortunate Indians, to the number of 240, who were left upon the wreck, after remaining by her for five days, managed to construct rafts, upon which they attempted to reach the shore. Many of them, however, perished in the surf, and others are supposed to have been murdered by the Chinese plunderers. The exact number, therefore, who fell into the hands of the Chinese authorities, and were imprisoned and subjected to the greatest privations, cannot be ascertained; but they were thought to amount, according to the best information which could be obtained, to more than 150. On board the brig Ann there were in all 57 souls; of whom, 14 were natives of Europe or America, 4 Portuguese, 5 Chinamen, and 34 natives of India. Out of all those who were taken prisoners, belonging to both vessels, only nine ultimately escaped an untimely fate, and were restored at the end of the war, according to the terms of the treaty.

CHAPTER XXV.

On leaving the bay of Amoy, on the 5th of September, the appointed places for the rendezvous of the fleet of men-of-war and transports, in case of separation, were successively the so-called Buffalo's Nose, at the entrance of the Chusan group; Keeto Point, a promontory running out from the mainland towards Chusan; and, lastly, the bay or harbour of Tinghai, the capital of Chusan. The progress of the squadron was slow for some days, owing to light winds and a heavy swell; and the Nemesis, being very light in the water, and having, moreover, a leak in her bottom, (after the accident at Amoy,) was kept pretty close in shore, to avoid the swell outside, but seldom entirely lost sight of the fleet. A considerable quantity of floating wood was picked up along shore, which was extremely acceptable for fuel, as she had only a very small supply remaining on board.

On the 13th, the north-east monsoon set in rather suddenly, and somewhat earlier than usual, with heavy squalls and a thick fog, which caused the unavoidable separation of the squadron. At the commencement of this change of weather, the Nemesis lost her fore-top-mast and top-gallant-mast, but continued her course

leisurely along shore, until the following day, when she came to anchor under a small island, called Tan-tow-show, about five miles from Sheipoo, and 28 from the Buffalo's Nose.

Captain Hall landed upon the island under which he had taken shelter, with a party of men, to look for wood, which was much needed for fuel, and also for refreshments for the crew, and then took the opportunity of ascending a high hill, to take a survey of the neighbouring country. The haze cleared off sufficiently to enable him to discover the entrance to an extensive harbour, which proved to be that of Sheipoo, where there is a considerable trading town. He thought that he could also make out something like the appearance of batteries or field-works at the entrance.

On the 17th, the Nemesis stood in for the entrance of the harbour, which was very narrow, and soon fell in with a fishing boat, in which were several fishermen busy about their nets, one of whom was made to come on board and pilot the vessel into the harbour; and he was promised ten dollars for his services if he took her in without accident; but, if she touched ground, he was threatened to be immediately run up to the yard-arm. The poor fellow had never even *seen* a steamer or devil-ship before, and was not a little alarmed. But he perfectly understood the conditions, and gradually recovered his self-possession.

The tide swept so rapidly into the narrow entrance of the harbour, that the Nemesis was fairly carried through the passage, before the two field-works, which were intended to protect it, could bring a single gun to bear upon the vessel; but the Chinese were seen running down from their little encampment above, to man the guns. At the bottom of the harbour or basin, the town now came into full view, with a large number of trading-junks of every kind, moored in lines close to each other, on one side of the town; while on the other, or the left, looking towards it, there was a fort, which appeared to have been recently repaired and strengthened, but, like most other Chinese forts, was left almost unprotected in the rear.

Upon a rising ground behind the fort, a body of troops, about five or six hundred in number, were drawn up, so that the Chinese were evidently prepared for defence. The Nemesis immediately ran in towards the fort, and took up a flanking position, anchoring by the stern between it and the town, so as to bring her guns to bear with the greatest advantage, without exposing herself to the direct fire of the fort. Shot, shell, and canister, were now poured in, and the fort was soon silenced. But the troops could now be seen descending from the hill behind, and bringing

heavy ginjals with them, mounted on triangular stands, as if they intended to oppose a landing. A few discharges of grape-shot threw them into great disorder, killing many. Capt. Hall then landed, at the head of all his officers and men who could be spared from the ship, accompanied by Mr. Gully, and took the fort, the Chinese flying before them; four guns, two brass and two iron ones were destroyed, the tents and buildings were set on fire, and water was poured into the magazine to destroy the powder.

The whole party having returned on board, boats were sent out, manned and armed, to search for fuel, and also to capture three large war-junks, which had been seen on the way up the harbour. All the trading junks were left unmolested; but wood for fuel was so much needed on board, that several of the wood-junks were soon picked out, well filled with the necessary article. In a short time, no less than seven boat-loads of excellent wood were obtained, amounting in all to about seventy tons. Much labour was required to bring off so large a quantity, and to stow it away expeditiously; nevertheless, during this operation, one of the war-junks was captured, and, as soon as she was towed clear of the town and shipping, so as not to cause any unnecessary damage, she was set on fire in the middle of the harbour, and soon blew up. Two guns, together with a quantity of ginjals, matchlocks, swords, &c., were destroyed in her.

But the day's work was not finished yet. About two o'clock the cutters were sent away, under Mr. Galbraith, to take and destroy the other two war-junks which had been seen in the morning. One of them blew up close in shore, but the other was towed out into the middle of the harbour, before she was set on fire. One was found to mount fourteen guns, and contained a large quantity of powder, with numerous warlike implements of various kinds.

The whole of this day's work was exceedingly interesting. The hills which surrounded the harbour were covered with people who crowded out of the town, and from all the neighbouring villages, to witness the exploits of the "devil-ship," the rapidity of whose movements, the precision of her fire, and the volumes of smoke and steam which issued from her, seemed to awaken feelings of awe and mute astonishment, even more than fear. There they stood for hours, apparently unconcerned spectators of passing events: and, as they saw the destruction of the war-junks, while the merchant-junks remained uninjured, they appeared satisfied that no mischief was threatened against the unarmed inhabitants, so long as they did not interfere. The neighbourhood

of the town along the shore was laid out in very neat cultivated gardens, and everything bore indications of a thriving and well-ordered-community.

The day was now far advanced, and it only remained to take the two forts or field-works upon the island, just within the mouth of the harbour. A shot or two had previously been fired at them in the course of the morning, but it was now determined to capture them, and destroy the works. On nearing them, a few shells and rockets were discharged into them, and the boats then put off, manned and armed, under Capt. Hall. The Chinese had only just abandoned them. The two field-works were very near each other, and were found to mount nine guns, which were spiked, their carriages destroyed, and the tents of the soldiers set on fire. The poor Chinese fisherman who had acted as pilot was of course liberated as soon as the harbour was cleared, and he appeared no less astonished than overjoyed when the promised ten dollars were counted out into his hands.

On the following day, the 18th, the Nemesis reached the appointed rendezvous at Buffalo's Nose, and found that the Sesostris was the only vessel which had preceded her, the rest of the fleet having been kept back by contrary winds and hazy weather. When we remember what a large number of hired transports and store-ships passed up and down along the coast of China from this time to the close of the war, many of which had frequently a part of their crew sick, we cannot but be surprised that so few accidents happened. The inaccuracy of the surveys of the coast which had been then made; the wrong position on the charts of most of the numerous islands which stand out as bulwarks at very uncertain distances from the shore; the strength and unknown irregularities of the currents, and the heavy squalls which frequently burst suddenly over that part of China, rendered the navigation precarious, and frequently caused the utmost anxiety. Occasionally the captains found themselves inside of islands when they believed they were some distance outside; and I well remember, on one occasion, making the voyage up to Chusan in a fast-sailing brig-of-war, which just weathered a long rocky island, called the Alligator, and at noon discovered it to have been laid down upon the chart full twenty miles wrong in its latitude—an error which can scarcely be accounted for.

The strength of the currents among the Chusan islands, and the continued boisterous weather, made it difficult to collect all the transports at the appointed rendezvous. The Admiral did not get up until the 21st; and the General, being on board a large transport which had been carried far down to leeward, did not join until the evening of the 25th.

In the meantime, the Nemesis had gone to join the Phlegethon at Keeto Point, where the sad tale was learned of one of the officers of the Lyra, (an opium vessel,) Mr. Wainwright and one of the crew having been enticed on shore, under the pretence of selling them stock, and of their having been then overpowered and cruelly murdered. This event occurred very near the village where Captain Stead had been murdered some months before. Lieut. M'Cleverty soon afterwards landed with his crew, accompanied by Lieut Crawford and the commanders of the Lyra and Ann, and put to flight a party of Chinese soldiers, burnt their barracks, and destroyed a great part of the village.

As soon as the Nemesis arrived, no time was lost in landing to examine the adjacent country, which was very picturesque and beautifully cultivated. But the recollection of the cruel fate of the poor fellows who had been so recently captured, and, as was believed, barbarously put to death there, with the sight of the very spots where the sad occurrences took place, awakened feelings of bitterness and a wish of retaliation which it was impossible to suppress. In a very short time, everything that remained undestroyed was set on fire, including various buildings, &c.; and, as darkness set in, the whole valley appeared lighted up with the blaze of the spreading fires.

At length all the transports were assembled, according to a preconcerted arrangement, just off the little island called "Just in the Way;" as it was the original plan laid down by the General and the Admiral to occupy Ningpo, after having first captured the heights of Chinhae, which command the entrance of the Tahae river, which leads up to Ningpo. Chusan was to have been retaken afterwards. The boisterous state of the weather, however, prevented the ships from approaching near enough to Chinhae to carry out this part of the plan; and it was therefore determined to make an immediate reconnoissance of the harbour and defences of Chusan, or rather of its capital town, Tinghai: this was accordingly carried into execution the following day, the 26th of September.

The Admiral and General, together with the Plenipotentiary and suite, embarked early in the morning on board the Phlegethon, the Nemesis being ordered to accompany them. As they approached Chusan, the alarm was given by the Chinese from numerous watch-towers, or rather signal stations erected upon the hills, or upon the tops of the several islands which lie in the immediate neighbourhood. Great changes had evidently taken place since our forces left Chusan, a few months before; and preparations of an extensive kind had been rapidly made for the

defence of the place. As the steamers entered the principal harbour by its western side, between the so-called Tea Island and Guard Island, the Chinese opened a few guns at them, but at too great a distance to do any damage; and as there was no wish to attack them in a desultory manner, the steamers were ordered to keep at a good distance, but to direct their movements so as to get a complete view of all the Chinese positions. The rapidity of the tides in the different channels leading into the harbour, is so great that large vessels sometimes become perfectly unmanageable; and even powerful steamers found it difficult to stem the torrent.

Nothing can be more striking or picturesque than the views on every side as you approach Chusan; you are here particularly struck with the garden-like aspect of every spot of ground you see. The country is hilly on all sides, but every hill is cultivated with extreme care, up to its very summit. It is divided into small ridges, or beds, in which various productions are raised side by side, giving the greatest possible variety to the aspect of the country, and pointing out the vast labour and perseverance with which the tillage must be conducted. It is entirely spade husbandry, and ought rather to be called horticulture.

In the low valleys and little sheltered nooks, you trace villages and farm-houses of neat appearance; and every bend of the coast, and every bit of low, swampy ground, is embanked and recovered from the sea by long, thick, stone walls, which are maintained with the utmost care. Behind these, the ground is laid out in rice-fields, irrigated with much ingenuity, and there is a general appearance of well-being and industry, which indicates a thriving and contented population. Generally speaking, the island of Chusan, with some of the smaller ones adjacent to it, may be considered as among the most picturesque and fertile spots in the north of China, as far as it was visited by the expedition, and the loss of this possession was so deeply felt by the Emperor, that, as he said, "he read the account with fast falling tears." The great and rapidly completed preparations which were found to have been made for the protection of the island prove the importance attached to it.

The city of Tinghai, the capital of Chusan, is a walled town, of the third class, about two miles in circumference, having four entrances, with double-arched gateways, situated at right angles to each other, according to the usual Chinese practice. The greater part of the town is surrounded by a wet ditch, or canal, which adds very much to the natural unhealthiness caused by imperfect drainage, (owing to the lowness of its situation,) and by the swampy rice-grounds, which occupy the whole valley.

Indeed, were it not protected by a raised bank running along the face of the harbour, from which the city is three quarters of a mile distant, the whole of the valley in which the town is situated would frequently be flooded. It was upon this raised bank that the great line of sea battery had been recently erected. A narrow causeway and a shallow canal connect the city with a village, at which is the principal landing-place of the harbour, situated at the foot of a steep, conical hill, which stands nearly in the centre of the whole sea-face of the valley or plain, which may be about three miles broad. The latter is bounded by steep hills on either side, which stretch down close to the city, and command the western face of the walls.

The hill at the landing-place, which received the name of Pagoda Hill, is a very striking object from every point of the harbour. The appearance of a temple upon it, and several small detached buildings, which had been recently erected as prisons for the English, whom the Chinese *intended* to capture, and the steepness of its summit, gave it an appearance of strength which it did not possess. Directly opposite to Pagoda Hill are two small islands, called Trumball and Macclesfield Islands, which bound the harbour on the eastern side, and upon the nearest of these a mortar-battery was afterwards erected, for the purpose of shelling Pagoda Hill. To the southward, the harbour is shut in by the highly cultivated and considerable island called Tea Island; while on its western side, at the extremity of the long sea-battery, lies the small island called Guard Island, only separated by a very narrow passage called the Devil's Gates, from the hills which overlook the valley.

As the two steamers entered the inner harbour by the western passage, leaving Guard Island on the left, they immediately came in sight of a long line of continuous works, constructed of mud, along the top of the whole line of embankment before described. It is strange that such a mode of defence should have been adopted; for the flank of the battery was completely commanded by the range of steep hills running up to the very city itself. Upon the nearest hills, however, at the end of the battery, the Chinese had formed a fortified encampment, in which there appeared to be a large body of troops; and in a hollow at the foot of it there was an unfinished stone fort, intended to mount eight guns. But they had placed their principal reliance upon the line of mud-batteries fronting the harbour, and had run piles and stakes along the water's edge, to prevent our troops from landing from the boats, as if they imagined that a battery could only be attacked in front, and partly, perhaps, to prevent the washing away of the soil.

The works had been hastily and unscientifically constructed,

and consisted principally of heaps of mud, of a conical shape, raised upon the embankment, with embrasures between them for the guns. These intervals were so large, measuring generally from ten to fifteen feet wide, that it would be impossible for the men to stand to their guns, although the mounds of earth between them were about twenty to twenty-five feet broad. The line of battery extended far beyond the Pagoda or Joss House Hill to the eastward, but was not completed at that end. There were altogether nearly two hundred and seventy embrasures, but only about eighty guns mounted, exclusive of those in a newly-built redoubt upon Pagoda Hill, amounting to twelve or fifteen. Of these twenty-five were afterwards found to be of brass and copper, and tolerably well cast. Several improvements had been made by the Chinese for the strengthening of Pagoda Hill, since our evacuation of the place. They had retained the wall which we had formerly carried round the top of it, with an arched gateway of stone on the side looking inland towards the town. Other improvements were in progress; so that, if the attack had been delayed for some weeks longer, the Chinese would have completed their defences, as well as their want of science would permit. As it was, the authorities claimed the honour of "having fought with heavy toil for six days and nights," reckoning the commencement of their so-called fighting from the day on which the steamers first approached to reconnoitre. Our forbearance was magnified into a great victory by them, for the moment at all events.

On the return of the steamers to the anchorage at Just in the Way, with the rest of the fleet, orders were given for the Nemesis to proceed on the following morning across to the Ningpo river, to reconnoitre Chinhae, &c., but the weather proved so hazy and unsettled, that this purpose was deferred for the present. On the following day, the 28th, the weather still continued very squally, which prevented the fleet from moving; and the Admiral, therefore, gave orders that the Nemesis should proceed again to Chusan, in company with the Modeste and Columbine, (the whole under the command of Captain Eyres, of the Modeste,) and they were directed to destroy the unfinished battery already mentioned, at the foot of the hills at the western extremity of the long line of works, and if possible set fire to the encampment on the hill above, or, at all events, disperse the Chinese troops. The object was evidently to prepare for the landing of our force at that point, in order to take the line of Chinese battery in reverse, and then march upon the town by the hills. The increasing severity of the weather obliged them all to come to anchor before they reached Chusan.

At daylight next morning, the Nemesis was sent in alone to reconnoitre, having Capts. Eyres and Clarke on board, and she soon discovered that the entrenched camp on the hill was stronger than had been supposed, and that the troops were collected in great strength at that point. As the steamer ran pretty close in shore, a smart but ineffective fire from large ginjals was opened on her from the entrenched camp; but the small stone fort below was quite silent, and, indeed, appeared to be unarmed. Having fired a few shot into the camp on the hill, in order to warn the Chinese of what they had to expect, the Nemesis speedily returned, to bring up the other two vessels; and these, as soon as they had come to anchor as close in shore as their draught of water would permit, immediately opened fire upon the entrenched camp above, and also at the fort below, in order to ascertain if it was occupied. As the Nemesis could stand in much closer than the other vessels, Capt. Eyres and Capt. Clarke went on board her, and she was then carried within excellent range by Capt. Hall, and immediately poured in shot, shell, rockets, and carcases,* with such remarkable precision, as to have been made the subject of special mention in the Admiral's despatch.

In a short time the temporary buildings were demolished, and a breach was made in the wall of the fortified encampment. The proper moment for landing was now come; but, as the orders were positive not to come to close quarters with the enemy, but merely to reconnoitre their position, and prevent them from adding to their works of defence, no attempt was made to carry the encampment. A small party of men were landed, but merely with a view to ascertain, beyond a doubt, that the small stone fort below was unarmed, and to make a hasty reconnoissance of the line of sea-battery, nearly a mile long, which connected this point with Pagoda Hill. A large body of Chinese troops were now seen forming under the brow of the hill in the rear, in order to make an attack upon the reconnoitring party; but a few well-directed shot from the steamer's guns immediately dispersed them.

The object of this little affair having been fully accomplished, the Nemesis hastened to rejoin the Admiral, with despatches from Capt. Eyres. Sir Wm. Parker was already on his way over to Chusan in the Wellesley, and without loss of time, came on board the Nemesis, accompanied by the General, and ordered her to carry them once more across the harbour of Chusan. The Chinese again opened a distant and useless fire upon her as she passed, both in going and returning, as they had done on the former occasion.

* Shells with three holes in them, filled with combustible matter, and supposed to be the first fired from on board ship.

In the course of the afternoon, several of the ships of war, and some of the transports, reached the outer harbour of Chusan, while the Blonde, Modeste, and Queen steamer, proceeded to take up a position under the two islands which lie opposite to Pagoda Hill, and which were called Macclesfield (or Melville) and Trumball Islands. They were directed to cover and assist a party of the Royal Artillery, under Capt. Knowles, in erecting a battery of one 68-pounder gun, and two 24-pounder howitzers, upon the top of the ridge of the former island, with a view to shell Pagoda Hill and its defences, which were within range, but rather distant. The Chinese continued firing very ineffectually during the whole time, in the direction of these islands, but their shot always fell short.

The battery was finished on the following day, with great labour and skill. Every preparation for the attack being completed on the 30th, the dawn of the 1st of October was looked for with intense interest. At daylight the Nemesis again crossed and recrossed the inner harbour, for the purpose of embarking some troops which were on board the Jupiter, close to Trumball Island; they consisted of a portion of the Madras Rifles and a number of camp followers. The Nemesis then proceeded to the transports in the outer harbour, to take on board part of the 49th regiment, together with a detachment of sappers and miners.

The howitzer battery, upon Melville Island, opened fire just as she was crossing from the inner harbour; and it was an interesting sight to watch the shells falling upon Pagoda Hill. The first shell was thrown merely to try the range, and fell rather short, but the second fell exactly within the fort, close to the gate, and it therefore became evident that the Chinese could not long hold out.

About the same time the Queen steamer endeavoured to tow the Blonde frigate into a good position against Pagoda Hill and the adjacent defences, to aid the mortar battery; but so great was the strength of the tide, which runs like a mill-race in that part of the harbour, that it was impossible to move the Blonde into a good position, in spite of the utmost exertions. But shortly afterwards the Modeste and Queen, drawing less water, were able to take up excellent stations; the battery on Pagoda Hill was soon silenced, and the troops were driven from their post.

During these proceedings at the eastern extremity of the inner harbour, the original design of driving the Chinese out of the long sea-battery, by turning their right flank at its western extremity, and by taking possession of the hills above them, upon which their encampment had been formed, was

gallantly and effectually carried into execution. The Chinese troops at this time occupied the heights in force, although they had been dispersed two days before; and kept up a continued fire of ginjals and matchlocks, apparently more in defiance than for any useful purpose, for they frequently advanced to the brow of the hill, waving their flags, and daring their enemy to attack them.

The Wellesley had been moved as close as possible to the intended point of debarkation, just outside Guard Island; and the Cruiser and Columbine had been placed within two hundred yards of the beach, there being plenty of water almost close in shore. By the fire of these vessels and of the Sesostris steamer, the Chinese were so completely kept in check, that they could not attempt any opposition to the landing of the troops. The Phlegethon now came up with the 55th regiment on board. The first division with the gallant general at their head, consisting of the Madras Artillery with eight guns, under Captain Anstruther, together with a party of sappers and the 18th and 55th regiments, with the Madras Rifles, were now landed, but not without some delay and difficulty, owing to the astonishing strength of the currents. The Nemesis was also coming up to land the troops she had on board, when she grounded on a sand-bank, and was obliged to cast off the numerous boats she had in tow, before she could work herself off again, which caused considerable delay. The 49th were therefore not landed so soon as had been expected. The firing of the steamers which covered the landing was kept up with so much precision, that more than one of the Chinese standard-bearers, who boldly advanced alone to the crest of the hill, waving their flags, were cut in two by a 32-pounder shot, just as if they had been aimed at with a rifle.

The two flank and the third companies of the 55th, being first on shore, received a smart fire from the Chinese, who, up to this time had kept themselves pretty well sheltered; and, as the remainder of the regiment followed close after the leading companies, and the 18th was not far behind, the advance was instantly sounded, and the 55th pushed up the hill, under the gallant Major Fawcett. The Chinese waved to them to come on, and opened a smart fire as they struggled up the steep hill, and knocked down several of the men. It was an exciting spectacle to watch them ascending the hill, while the ships continued firing until they reached the summit; and even then the Chinese shewed no want of courage; the spear and the bayonet frequently crossed each other. At length the Chinese were routed; and the hill, being now in our possession, gave us the command of all the enemy's positions, which, by this means, were fairly turned. In this

encounter the first Chinese colours were taken by Lieutenant Butler, of the 55th.

In the mean time, the 18th and the artillery being landed, and some of the light guns having been placed so as to enfilade the long battery, the 18th pushed on gallantly under Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, to clear the line of sea-defences. The facility with which the flank of the position of the Chinese had been turned, did not seem, by any means, to discourage them, and they fought, as they retreated, with great *individual* courage, several of the mandarins boldly advancing, sword in hand, to the attack. The loss on their side, as they were driven back along so narrow a line, (for there was a deep paddy-field in the rear of the embankment upon which the battery was constructed,) was necessarily great. The Chinese commander-in-chief and several Tartar officers were here killed. They were at length compelled to evacuate the whole line of sea-battery, the grenadier company of the 18th leading the way, in a spirited manner, under Captain Wigston.

Having cleared the whole of the works, the 18th soon made their way up the Pagoda Hill without opposition, the Chinese having been already compelled to evacuate it by the admirable fire of the Royal Artillery and of the Modeste and Queen on that side. The 49th, who could not be landed until the hottest part of the work was over, followed the 18th along the battery, but on reaching the causeway or path about two-thirds of the way across, which appeared to lead from the battery towards the city, they turned off at that point, and hurried on towards the south gate of the city, to which it led.

In the mean time, the 55th pushed on along the hills covered by the Rifles, which had now joined, to the heights overlooking the city on the north-west; and Captain Anstruther, with Captain Balfour and Lieutenant Foulis with great exertion brought up the light field-guns of the Madras artillery to the summit of the heights, and opened their fire upon the walls, on which several guns were mounted on that side. The Madras Sappers had also brought scaling ladders along the rugged hills, and the Rifles were skilfully disposed along the edge of a deep ravine between the hills and the city walls, sheltered by the broken ground and by tombs, (for it was the burial-place of the city,) with the object of cutting off the retreat of the Chinese by the northern gate.

While these operations were going on, the Admiral, accompanied by Sir Henry Pottinger, Captain Herbert, Captain Maitland, and Mr Morrison, the interpreter, went on board the Nemesis, (which, after landing her troops, had come round the point of

Guard Island into the inner harbour,) and were carried towards the Pagoda Hill, just as the 18th entered the works at the top of it. The Admiral and the rest of the officers immediately landed, and ascended the hill, from the top of which there is a splendid prospect of the whole plain beyond, and of the city, and from which a good view could be obtained of the operations against the latter.

The Nemesis was anchored as close in shore as possible; and Captain Hall, having got up to the mast-head, was able distinctly to see everything that was going on, and to direct the fire of the steamer so as to throw shells into the city, about three quarters of a mile distant. The other steamers very shortly afterwards joined her in the inner harbour. The 55th could be seen climbing over the walls, the Chinese firing and retreating before them; and the British flag at last proudly floated over the fallen city. Three British cheers were given at this moment by soldiers and sailors together. The capital of Chusan, with all its new, and extensive defences, was now for the second time in our possession. The Chinese troops fled into the interior of the island, principally at the eastern gate; and if a detachment of our soldiers had been sent along the banks of the canal which runs up into the plain on that side, probably a great number of the Chinese would have been cut off.

The loss of the Chinese was considerable, both in the battery and on the hills. On our side, one officer (Ensign Duell) and one rank and file of the 55th were killed, and nineteen rank and file of the same regiment wounded, many of them severely. Of the other troops engaged, eight rank and file were wounded, of whom half dangerously or severely. Besides the guns already enumerated, together with large ginjals, a vast number of matchlocks were found in the city, and upwards of 500 tubs of powder, some bamboo rockets, and about 100 cases of leaden balls.

The day after the capture, measures were adopted by the General to endeavour to prevent the escape of the Chinese troops from the island, by the numerous little harbours or creeks from which they could get away in boats to the mainland. Three different detachments of our soldiers were sent out by separate routes to scour the island, while the Nemesis and other vessels were sent round to convey provisions, and to blockade the landing places or villages on the coast. But not a soldier was seen in any direction; the facility of disguise and concealment, and also of escape to the mainland being very great.

It may be doubted whether these movements, instead of tending to bring the native Chinese population into submission, did not rather serve to keep alive or to increase their natural feeling of

dislike to the foreigner. In fact, the inhabitants of the Chusan Islands are generally a hardy and independent race of people, and up to the close of the war, it never could be said that we really had possession of more than the actual city within the walls of Tinghai and its suburbs on the sea-shore. No one could move even to a distance of two or three miles from the walls, without having a strong escort, or running the risk of being kidnapped by the people. Many private soldiers and camp-followers were in this manner cut off; and at length orders were issued that none but the Chinese should be permitted to pass through the northern gate at all.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A FEW days after the occupation of the capital of Chusan, a regular military government was established by Sir Henry Pottinger, protection being promised to the well-behaved inhabitants, who were moreover informed that "several years would probably elapse before the island would be restored to the authority of the Emperor." Thus it was evidently contemplated, even at that time, that the island should not be restored to the Chinese, until long after the conclusion of peace.

The principal alterations which had taken place at Tinghai, since it was given up by the English seven months before, were found to be merely the addition of the defensive works already described, and, to a certain degree, increased cleanliness within the city. The suburbs, at the landing-place had been in part pulled down, or altered to make way for the batteries, while other parts had been abandoned, and were afterwards pulled down by us during the ensuing winter, to give a better circulation of air, and more room for the detachment quartered there. In other respects, the so-called horrors of war fell extremely light upon the inhabitants, indeed they were in most instances benefitted by our presence, and by the circulation of the money which we spent among them.

It must not be imagined that the capital of Chusan is at all a fine town, or in any way to be compared with others upon the mainland which we afterwards captured or visited. Even the walls, though of small extent, enclose a larger space than is actually occupied by the town itself; and indeed, with few exceptions, this appears to be generally the case in China. The streets

are extremely narrow, being mere lanes; the shops very poor, and comparatively insignificant; and the houses all low, but some of them, including the courts within, occupy a large space of ground. There is one building, however, which attracts universal attention, as being one of the finest specimens of its kind It is the principal temple of the city, dedicated to the worship of Foo, or Budha. In many respects it is superior to the temple at Haiman, opposite to Canton, and is scarcely second to the principal of the numerous temples which adorn the sacred island of Footo, about 20 miles from Chusan, which is famous for the number and elegance of its places of superstitious worship, and for the hosts of priests, or rather monks attached to them. There is, belonging to this beautiful temple of Tinghai, standing in a detached half-ruined building, and apparently never used, one of the most beautiful bells met with in China. It is quite equal to the one which was afterwards taken at Ningpo, and subsequently sent to Calcutta. It is of very large size, but somewhat different in shape from our own, and is covered on the outside with Chinese characters beautifully formed. Its tone is clear and deep; indeed, the Chinese appear to excel in the art of making bell-metal. It was worthy of being removed and carried to this country; not so much as a trophy, for such it could not be called, but as an interesting specimen of Chinese workmanship, and of the advanced state of some of their oldest arts and inventions.

Some interest attaches to the island of Chusan, from the fact of its having once been the site of an English factory. It is about 50 miles in circumference, of an oblong shape, being about 20 miles in length by ten in breadth. The principal harbour of Tinghai is difficult of approach, owing to the astonishing rapidity of the currents or tides, the rise and fall of which varies from six to 12 feet; the passages are in some parts narrow, with deep water.

Chusan, and all the neighbouring islands are extremely mountainous, but between the ridges of the hills are rich and beautiful valleys, which are highly productive, being well supplied with water. The industry and care with which the Chinese embank the opening of every valley towards the sea are remarkable; not a foot of ground is wasted; and every little nook or bay which can be reclaimed from the sea is cultivated with the most assiduous care. The beautiful cultivation of the hill-sides has already been alluded to, so that it is not surprising that the island is capable of exporting a large quantity of produce to the mainland. For general commercial purposes, however, little advantage, could have been derived from

the permanent retention of Chusan; the population of the island is not large; and, with the port of Ningpo within a few hours' sail, and open to our vessels, there could have been no compensating benefit to make up for the expense of a permanent settlement upon an island in its neighbourhood.

The East India Company's factory was built in 1700, not far from the present landing-place in the suburbs of Tinghai, but the exactions of the Chinese officers, the expense of the establishment, and the little prospect of carrying on a successful trade, compelled them to abandon it three or four years afterwards. In short, the internal trade of the island must always be insignificant; and vessels which frequent the harbour depend almost entirely upon the visits of Chinese merchants, who come over from the mainland to seek merchandize, which they would much more gladly purchase when brought to their own doors at Ningpo, by which means they would save expense and trouble.

The importance of the temporary possession of Chusan is certainly great, particularly as long as the arrangements for the opening of the new ports are not entirely completed. But its value, as a *political* measure, is much enhanced by the moral effect it has had upon the government and the people of China, who look upon the Chusan islands as among their most valuable possessions, the loss of which was peculiarly felt by the Emperor. In the commencement, the principal inhabitants of the interior shewed a great disinclination to have any dealings with us, and the common people frequently proved themselves decidedly hostile. The kidnapping of our soldiers was more frequently attempted by men sent over from the mainland, expressly for the purpose, than by the peasantry of the island itself. Gradually, however, all classes improved in their tone and bearing; and, during an excursion which I myself made, in company with a missionary, at the close of the war, we found the people commonly civil and obliging, and rarely disinclined to hold intercourse with us. In several instances, we were invited into the houses of respectable individuals, who invariably turned the conversation upon mercantile matters.

It must not be supposed that there can be an *unlimited* production of tea in China; its cultivation is limited to almost two districts, and it requires peculiar conditions of soil and of climate in order to be cultivated to advantage. A great *sudden* increase in the demand for tea would lead to an enormous increase in the adulteration of the article by all kinds of spurious leaves; and nothing is more easy than to fabricate a mixture which will resemble in all its external appearances any kind of tea which

may be most in demand; and this fabricated mixture can be added to the real tea, in greater or less quantity, so as not easily to be detected, unless by very experienced persons. The tea-plant requires three years' growth before it will produce leaves fit to be plucked for tea. At Chusan, the plant appeared to grow wild, or nearly so, upon some of the mountains, but of inferior quality, and only fit for native use.

As the season for active measures, before the complete setting in of winter, was already far advanced, little time was to be lost in carrying into execution the proposed movement upon Chinhae and Ningpo. The latter city, from its size and situation, would afford excellent winter quarters for the main body of our troops; and the moral effect upon the Chinese government and people, of the continued occupation of so important a place, and the interruption of their valuable trade, could not fail to make an impression calculated to facilitate our future negotiations. In the meantime, the expected reinforcements would have arrived both from England and from India, and the next campaign would be opened with vigour, and suffice, it was hoped, to conclude the war.

Ningpo, which is a city of the first class, and therefore called Foo, (Ningpo-Foo,) is the chief city of a department, and the second city in the province of Che-Keang, of which the capital is Hang-Chow-Foo. The population of the province, according to Chinese documents, numbers upwards of 26,000,000 souls, or very nearly as much as the whole of Great Britain and Ireland together. The town of Ningpo is situated twelve miles up the Tahea, or Ningpo river, at the mouth of which is the small town of Chinhae, at the base of a high hill, which commands the entrance of the river. The possession of Chinhae, therefore, and its citadel, would give us complete command of the approach to Ningpo; just as the capture of Chapoo (which was effected in the subsequent campaign) would lay open the road to Hang-Chow-Foo, the capital; and that of Woosung, which was soon afterwards taken, would give us free access to the valuable trading city of Shang-hae. It could not be doubted that the interruption of trade, and the consequent stoppage of imperial revenues, would make far deeper impression upon the cabinet of Pekin than sweeping off thousands and tens of thousands of the people, whose lives are so quaintly said to be "very tenderly cherished in the paternal bosom of the Emperor."

A small garrison only was to be left in possession of Chusan, but the embarkation of the rest of our force was delayed for some days by the continuance of contrary winds. The exposed situation of Chinhae also made it hazardous to approach it with a

fleet, until the weather should assume a more settled appearance. At length, on the 8th of October, the greater part of the transports were moved to the anchorage at "Just in the Way," nearly half way across to the mouth of the Ningpo river. At the same time, the General and the Admiral, accompanied by Sir Henry Pottinger, who was never absent when active operations were going on, proceeded in the Nemesis and Phlegethon steamers to reconnoitre the Chinese positions, and to form their plans for the intended attack. Everything was now extremely favourable for this purpose, considering the advanced season; and the Chinese allowed the steamers to approach quite close, within short range, without firing a shot.

The city of Chinhae lies at the foot of a hill, upon a tongue of land, on the left bank of the river, or upon the northern side of its entrance; and its castellated walls are not much less than three miles in circumference, connected with a substantial stone embankment which runs up the coast for a distance of full three miles, for the protection of the land from the encroachments of the sea. The chief strength of the position, however, lies in the precipitous, rocky height, which, rising abruptly from the sea, at the extremity of the peninsula, and throwing out a rugged spur, completely commands the entrance of the river. Upon its summit, which may be about 250 feet high, a sort of citadel had been formed, having a large temple for its commanding point, connected by loopholed walls with various other buildings, which had been put in a state of preparation for defence.

The outer wall had two iron-plated gates; but the only direct communication between the citadel and the city was on the west or land side, where a steep but tolerably regular causeway led to a barrier gate at the bottom of the hill, whence it was continued by a wooden bridge over a gorge to the gates of the city itself. In front of the other or eastern gate of the citadel, there was a newly-constructed battery, formed partly of sand-bags and partly of masonry, mounting altogether 21 guns.

Adjoining the suburbs of the city, on the river side, there were also two flanking batteries for the protection of the river, mounting, respectively, 22 and 19 guns; while, on the opposite side of the isthmus, lying between the hill and the city walls, there was a small battery of five guns pointing towards the sea, with a row of piles driven into the beach in front of it, in order to impede the landing of an enemy. For further protection on that side, a number of guns and a large quantity of ginjals were mounted upon the city walls, principally fronting the sea. The information obtained led the General to suppose that there were about 3000 soldiers in the city and upon the works outside of it, while about

700 garrisoned the citadel; but according to Chinese official returns afterwards found, the actual number was about 500 less than supposed. The Chinese had by no means limited their defences to the northern side of the river. On the contrary, there was good reason to believe that the great body of their troops and their strongest positions were upon the other or southern side, where there was a range of steep hills, overlooking the citadel hill and the city itself.

On this side there were several strong batteries facing the entrance to the river, mounting altogether 31 guns, while the line of heights above was strongly fortified, having a chain of entrenched camps along the points most difficult of approach, with several field redoubts, armed with guns and ginjals; in short, neither expense nor labour had been spared to defend, as far as Chinese ingenuity and art could avail, the approach to the important city of Ningpo.

The river itself was strongly staked across just within the entrance, the obstruction being commanded by the batteries. A little lower down to the southward, below the river, in a small bay, there was a creek, with a good landing-place at the foot of the hills, and the entrance to it was staked across in a similar manner. The importance which the Chinese appeared to attach to the defence of these positions rendered it the more necessary that they should be reduced, in order to convince them, by the hard lesson of experience, that the utmost efforts of their skill and perseverance were unavailing against the science and the courage of Europeans.

On the following day, the 9th of October, the squadron and the transports (the best sailors having been selected for the purpose) anchored off Chinhae, in the most convenient positions for the intended operations, which were to be carried into effect early on the following morning. From the description above given, it will be evident that our operations against the main body of the Chinese troops, on the southern side of the river, would be undertaken by the land forces, under Sir Hugh Gough in person, while those against the citadel and town of Chinhae and the works on the northern side of the river, would be entrusted principally to the naval branch of the expedition, under Sir William Parker. It was arranged that a body of men, composed of the Seamen's Battalion and the Royal Marines, with a detachment of the Royal and Madras Artillery, the whole under the command of Captain Herbert, of the Blenheim, should be ready to land on that side.

The Wellesley, Blenheim, Blonde, and Modeste, were to take up positions as close as possible in shore on that side, but avoiding, if possible, the chance of taking the ground at low water,

with the object of shelling the Chinese out of the citadel, and of preventing reinforcements from being sent up to it, and to open a landing-place for the seamen and marines. They were also to drive the Chinese from the walls of the city on that side, and cover the landing. The Cruiser, Columbine, and Bentinck, were to be employed on the southern side of the entrance of the river, taking up their positions so as to cover the landing of the troops at the mouth of the creek already mentioned. The Queen and Sesostris steamers were to throw shells into the citadel and into the batteries along the river, or, according to circumstances, into the Chinese encampments on the hills on the south side; while the two iron steamers, Nemesis and Phlegethon, were to land the troops, and then render assistance wherever their services might be most useful.

At daylight, on the morning of the 10th of October, the Nemesis took on board the whole of the centre column, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Morris, consisting of the 49th regiment, with a few of the Royal and Madras Artillery, and some Madras Sappers, amounting altogether to about four hundred and forty men, with forty shot-bearers, &c. There were also two 12-pounder howitzers, with two 9-pounder field-guns. The Nemesis then took in tow the Cruiser, sixteen guns, under Commander Giffard, who was to superintend and to cover the landing, and immediately proceeded to the point of debarkation, near the creek, on the flank of the Chinese positions. The post of honour was this day given to the 49th, in order that they might have an opportunity of making up for their disappointment at Chusan, where they were landed too late to take the active part in the day's work which had been assigned to them. At the same time, the left column, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Craigie, of the 55th regiment (accompanied by the General himself and staff), was carried in by the Phlegethon to a rocky point, a little further to the southward. On their right were a low flat and a canal, with two bridges over it, whence they could move round the hills to the rear of the position occupied by the Chinese. This column was the strongest, and comprised a wing of the 18th Royal Irish, five companies of the 55th regiment, the Madras Rifle Company, with one company of the Madras Artillery, and some sappers; altogether 1040 men, with four light mountain howitzers, and two five and a half-inch mortars, with upwards of one hundred shot-carriers and followers.

The distance of the point of landing from the enemy's position was not less than a couple of miles; and thence they skirted along the hills, until they reached a commanding point, from which a full view of the whole of the positions was obtained. By

this time, the centre column had formed without opposition; but a small body of Chinese troops, who had, probably, been placed in ambush, under cover of a low hill, were now discovered, and instantly dispersed by a few shot from the Nemesis.

The 49th now received orders to advance up the hill, which they did in a gallant style; and, after clearing several field-works, their colours were soon displayed upon the principal redoubt overlooking the batteries on the river side. In this attack, Capt. Reynolds and Lieut. Browne, of the 49th, particularly distinguished themselves. No sooner had that regiment got into close action than the 18th and the Rifles, on their left, having with great difficulty got across a narrow and obstructed bridge, over the lower part of the canal, (which might have been easily defended), and the 55th having crossed another bridge higher up, suddenly pressed round upon the Chinese right, and threw them into the utmost consternation. Many acts of individual bravery were witnessed on their part; some the result of real courage, others of sheer desperation. But the poor Chinese were fairly hemmed in by the 49th in front, and by the 55th and 18th, with the Rifles, on their right and in their rear. This manœuvre threw them into the utmost confusion. Their river batteries, being also by these movements taken in flank, were at once abandoned by their defenders, and a few of the guns were actually turned against the flying enemy the moment we took possession.

The havoc among the Chinese was inevitably great, for very few of them could be induced to lay down their arms, in spite of the exertions of the officers, aided by Mr. Thom, the interpreter, to make them understand that their lives would be spared. Hundreds of them, as a last resource, rushed madly into the river, and, of course, a great many were drowned; it is even said that their own batteries on the *opposite side* of the river killed a great many of them, either purposely for running away, or by aiming at our soldiers, who were driving the fugitives before them. Many committed suicide, including several high officers; but some of them escaped, after throwing away their arms and military clothing. About five hundred men surrendered themselves prisoners; and a few others, who had taken shelter among the rocks along the river side, were subsequently picked up by the boats of the Queen steamer.

While these important successes were obtained on the southern side of the river, no less active and effectual operations were carried on upon the opposite or northern side, against the citadel and town of Chinhae. As soon as the Nemesis had landed the centre column, she ran up towards the flag-ship, the Wellesley, which had been towed into an excellent position by the Sesostris,

to shell the citadel, but she settled quietly in the mud as the tide fell. The Blenheim had likewise been towed into a good position by the Sesostris, but the Blonde and Modeste were enabled to go in under sail with a light breeze. The terrific fire of these powerful ships was immediately opened upon the hill-fort with irresistible effect. Their precision in throwing shells was particularly remarked, and nothing could resist their sustained fire.

On the Chinese side, the river batteries opened upon the Nemesis and Phlegethon as they passed the river's mouth, and upon every vessel on which they could bear, as they occasionally came within range—namely, the Queen, Cruiser, &c. The Nemesis, having passed beyond the flag-ship, ran in as close as possible to the town, and dispersed a body of Chinese, who were drawn up with their banners, &c., on that side, and also opened upon a small fort at the landing-place, between the Citadel-hill and the town; but she was then directed by the Admiral to proceed with orders to the Sesostris and the Queen.

Just at this moment, (past eleven o'clock,) the boats were ordered to land the right column, under Capt. Herbert; and it was about this time, also, that the 49th, on the south side of the river, were seen to crown the hill, and carry the Chinese entrenchment in that direction. So severe and well-directed had been the fire of the ships, that the Chinese had been driven out of the temple upon the top of the Citadel-hill, and could be seen rushing down towards the city. The seamen and marines, having disembarked upon the rugged rocks at the mouth of the river, advanced with great rapidity up the hill to the assault, and entered the citadel, the gate of which had been left open by the Chinese, as they fled.

The Chinese still manned the walls of the city below, which were about twenty feet high, and also the two batteries upon the river side, before described. The battalion of marines and seamen, therefore, pushed on to attack the city, and escaladed the walls in two places on the east side—the enemy making their escape through the western gate which led into the open country. By this time, the batteries on the south side of the river were also in possession of our troops, who now turned the guns upon the batteries on the city side of the river, near the water's edge. Captain Herbert's column was accompanied by the Admiral in person, who was one of the foremost to mount the walls.

Three explosions took place during the attack—two near the top of the Citadel-hill, and one at a mandarin station near the river-side. They were supposed to be mines, and two of them were fired by our rockets. Several Chinese suffered by the explosions. The city of Chinhae, and the whole of the defences

on both sides of the river, so much relied on by the Chinese, were in our possession by two o'clock; the Chinese troops were completely dispersed and panic-struck, many of the high officers being killed, and the people in the utmost consternation.

Captain Herbert retained possession of the town, with the marines, during the remainder of the day; and in the evening, Sir Hugh Gough crossed over from the opposite side with a few of his troops, and joined Captain Herbert. The rest of our men bivouacked for the night upon the hills they had so bravely taken. The total number of guns found in the different works were no less than one hundred and fifty-seven pieces, sixty-seven of which were brass, many being very well cast, and of great weight. In the city was also discovered a cannon foundry, with every preparation for casting a great number of guns, including a large quantity of metal. Some *copper ore* was likewise found and a tolerable addition to the prize fund was thus secured. The loss on our side was inconsiderable, amounting to three men killed and sixteen wounded, including one officer, Lieutenant Montgomerie, of the 49th regiment, which bore the principal brunt of the day. It is very difficult to estimate the loss of the Chinese; but it amounted to several hundred killed and wounded in the operations on both sides of the river.

Soon after the works were all in our possession, the Nemesis was sent some way up the river to explore the navigation, having cleared for herself a passage through the stakes: and, on her return to the Wellesley, late in the day, the Admiral, accompanied by Sir Henry Pottinger, proceeded in her to examine the river again.

If we may judge from the various memorials presented to the Emperor, after the fall of Chinhae, and his Majesty's replies to some of them, we must at once perceive how great a sensation the loss of this important place had made upon the people throughout the entire province. They were now alarmed for the safety even of Hang-chow-foo, the capital city. Nevertheless, the Emperor, far from shewing any inclination to yield, continued to urge on more strenuously than ever the most extensive preparations for the defence of the province.

Before the fighting of Chinhae commenced, Yu-keen delivered his seals of office to a faithful officer, to be carried back to the provincial capital; and when, at length, he saw the day was lost, he coolly walked down to the river's bank, and there, having performed the ceremony of the Kotow, looking towards the imperial city, he threw himself into the water. It was afterwards ascertained that about fourteen more Chinese officers were either killed, or destroyed themselves.

The death of the imperial commissioner, Yu-keen, seems to have awakened a feeling of compassion in the imperial bosom. His Majesty called to mind the death of the commissioner's grandfather, in the same manner, during the reign of Kienlug, and directed that his departed servant, "who gave his life for his country," should receive funeral honours of a high class, in the same temple of "faithful ministers" in which his ancestor had already found a place. The local officers were to pay every honour to his remains, in all the towns through which his body might pass on its way to Pekin.

It is an error to suppose that the Chinese are altogether averse to change any of their established practices, however opposed the government may be, as a matter of *policy*, to every kind of *innovation* in the usages of the people. In the strictly mechanical arts, no people are more ready to adopt or more expert in applying any new methods which they can comprehend, and which appear better adapted than their own to attain the desired object; but their *imitations* of things are notoriously ludicrous. At Chinhae, four newly-cast guns were found, precisely after the model of some carronades which had been recovered from the wreck of the Kite, and they were not by any means bad specimens. In the construction of their new gun-carriages, several striking improvements had been copied from ours, and, in this and other instances, it was thought that they must have employed people to take sketches for them. The most remarkable innovation, however, and one which points out their extreme ingenuity, was the discovery of some machinery intended to be applied to the propulsion of their junks, resembling paddle-wheels. This curious invention has been alluded to in the early part of the work, but the actual machinery used for the purpose was now first discovered. There were two long shafts, to which were to be attached the paddle-wheels, made of hard wood, about twelve feet in diameter; there were also some strong wooden cog-wheels nearly finished, which were intended to be worked by manual labour inside the vessel. They were not yet fitted to the vessels; but the ingenuity of this first attempt of the Chinese, so *far north* as Chinhae, where they could only have seen our steamers during their occasional visits to Chusan, when that island was before occupied by us, cannot but be admired.

A walk round the ramparts of Chinhae, was sufficient to give a good idea of Chinese towns in general and of the construction of their walls, which, in some parts, could not be less than forty feet thick. Beyond the town, the long sea wall was a remarkably fine specimen of masonry, composed entirely of large blocks of hewn granite, sloping upwards. The whole of China, in fact,

seems to present to view astonishing instances of mixed civilization and barbarism, of advancement, and of stagnation, in all the relations of life. Civilization appears to float upon the surface; you observe so much of social order and sobriety, and hear so much of paternal care and filial obedience, that you are half inclined to think that they must be a very moral, humane, and happy people. Again, you witness such proofs of ingenuity, such striking results of industry and of combination of labour, in their public works and buildings, canals, embankments, &c., that you are inclined to believe their institutions must have something good in them at bottom. But, when you look a little deeper, below the surface, you are astonished at the many evidences of barbarism and cruelty which militate against your first impressions. The use of torture in the hands of government officers is less striking, not only because it has been in use in Christian Europe till within little more than half a century, but also because, the obligation of an oath being unknown in China, as well as a future state of reward or punishment, there is in some cases, no other mode of extracting evidence than this cruel, unjust, and much-abused instrument of violence. It is more difficult, however, to perceive why they should have exerted their ingenuity to produce revolting cruelty in their modes of inflicting death.

The manner in which the unfortunate Captain Stead and Mr. Wainwright were put to death at Chinhae, as it was afterwards discovered, (for they were only wounded and captured at Keeto Point.) affords strong evidence of their cruel love for human suffering. The burial-place of these persons was pointed out beyond a little moat which skirted the outside of the city walls. It seemed to be the common burial-place for criminals after execution; and there was an archery-ground with a target near at hand, for the practice of their favourite weapon. The bodies of our countrymen were found rolled up in stout mats, such as are commonly used for covering their floors. It was difficult to obtain from the Chinese anything like correct information as to the precise mode in which the unfortunate sufferers were put to death; for although both of them were at last beheaded, there is too much reason to believe that they were first of all most barbarously tortured.

The infliction of the punishment of death in China, by any mode which shall cause the mutilation of the body, is considered much more severe and degrading than death by strangulation, or without the shedding of blood; and the more the body is mutilated, the greater is the punishment considered. The putting to death by "cutting in pieces," in which horrible operation beheading is the climax, is, perhaps at present scarcely ever carried into

effect. It is reserved, I believe, exclusively for rebellion and high treason. But the Chinese seem to take pleasure in inventing various cruel modes by which death *may be* inflicted, although, probably, they are not now used, if indeed, they ever were. The most original and disgusting of all these methods, (of which, however, there was no evidence of its being used,) was illustrated by the discovery, either at Chinhae or at Ningpo, of the model of a machine for *pounding women* to death. The original model was found in a temple, together with various others of a very extraordinary kind, by Captain Hall, and sent by him to the United Service Institution. It was very small, and represented a large, oblong, stone vase, in which the woman was to be placed, with the back of her head resting upon one extremity, (the long hair hanging over the side, and fastened to it,) while her legs were to be secured to the other. The horrible pounding process was to be effected by means of a huge stone pestle, large at the base and conical at the apex, similar to those which they use for pounding rice. The pestle, or cone, was fixed to the extremity of a long pole, the pole itself being fastened by a pin in the centre to an upright support, something in the manner of a pump-handle. The extremity of the handle being depressed by a man's weight, of course raised the cone, and, the pressure being removed, the heavy cone or pestle descended by its own weight, which was quite sufficient to pound one to pieces.

It was stated that at Chusan a stone tablet was found, upon which were carved the Emperor's orders that every barbarian who fell into the hands of the authorities should be executed by a slow and ignominious death. We know, however, that, except in the case of the prisoners upon the island of Formosa, this horrible threat was only in rare instances carried into execution. On the contrary, the English prisoners were sometimes tolerably well treated. This undoubtedly arose from the forbearance which was shewn on our part towards the Chinese themselves, and the humanity and kindness which their wounded and their prisoners always received from our officers and men, and which it was invariably the object of Sir Hugh Gough to promote and encourage.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The scenery at the mouth of the Ningpo river is very striking. High conical-hills stand on either side; and, as the river makes a bend a short distance up, the fine mountains beyond come into full view, and add to the picturesque beauty of the spot.

On the 12th of October, (the second day after the capture of Chinhae,) the Admiral proceeded up the river in the Nemesis, in order to reconnoitre the city of Ningpo, and to ascertain the practicability of taking the larger steamers and the sloops up the river. It was found to be wide and easily navigable up to the city, with no less than eighteen feet water close under the city walls. It was also ascertained that no preparations had been made for defence, as the positions which the Chinese had taken up at the entrance of the river had been considered quite strong enough to prevent the approach of an enemy. The people were seen hurrying out of the gates, in every direction, in the greatest consternation. The authorities had all fled, and the city appeared to be in complete disorder.

No time was to be lost. With the exception of the necessary garrison left at Chinhae, consisting of the 55th regiment, (excepting the light company,) with 100 Royal Marines, and a detachment of artillery and sappers, the whole under the command of Lieut. Col. Craigie, the rest of the force was embarked principally on board the Nemesis and Phlegethon on the following morning, the 13th, and proceeded up the river, in company with the Queen and Sesostris steamers, together with the Modeste, Cruiser, Columbine, and Bentinck. The Blonde was left for the protection of Chinhae, as a support to the garrison.

In consequence of unavoidable delays, the force did not reach the city of Ningpo until past two, P.M.; but, there was no difficulty in landing the troops with the utmost expedition. Across the river, just abreast of the town, there was a well-constructed bridge of boats, which served to connect the city, at the entrance of one of its gates, with the suburbs which were on the opposite side. There was quite water enough for the steamers to run close up to it; and, as the Chinese shewed no intention of opposing the landing, the bridge was immediately taken possession of, while thousands of the inhabitants thronged the banks of the

river, as mere spectators, moved by curiosity rather than by fear. Indeed, the Chinese themselves voluntarily assisted to remove the obstructions which were piled up behind the city gates; and about three o'clock the whole of the little force, amounting to no more than seven hundred and fifty bayonets, besides the artillery and sappers, were drawn up along the ramparts of the important and wealthy city of Ningpo; and the stirring sound of our national "God save the Queen" was played by the band of the 18th Royal Irish. The utmost quiet was preserved, and the Chinese were made to understand that, deserted by their own authorities, and left without means of protecting themselves, they might be assured of protection through the generosity of British soldiers. Never indeed was there a more peaceable victory.

The capture of Chinhae and Ningpo, so soon after the loss of Chusan, seems to have inflicted so severe a blow upon the Chinese, as to have alarmed the whole province, and spread consternation as far as the capital itself. Reports were soon brought from every quarter that the inhabitants even of Hang-chow-foo, famed for its luxury and refinement throughout China, were moving away from it in large numbers, and that places nearer to the scene of action were already almost abandoned. In fact, it was admitted that a panic prevailed on every side; and it was feared that "treacherous natives would seize the opportunity to rob and plunder, and would form themselves into organized bands for the purpose of creating internal disorders." There was also great apprehension that our forces might proceed to capture Chapoo, one of their most valuable ports, having the exclusive right of trade with Japan, and situated in the vicinity of Hang-chow-foo.

It could not be doubted, therefore, that had the General possessed a sufficient force to leave a garrison at Ningpo, and *at once* to take possession of Chapoo, which is, in fact, the sea-port of Hang-chow-foo, and only twenty miles distant from it, he might have marched to the provincial capital while the Chinese were unprepared to offer any serious opposition; and it is not improbable that the war might have been brought to a termination in that campaign. With the very small force, however, which Sir Hugh Gough had at his disposal, such a movement was manifestly impossible. The whole force which he could muster at Ningpo amounted to no more than seven hundred and fifty bayonets; and, as the city was not less than five miles in circumference, containing a dense population, it evidently required a considerable garrison to occupy the place, and to afford security to the peaceable and well-disposed inhabitants. It was therefore resolved to make Ningpo the head-quarters for the winter, and to wait for reinforce-

ments from England and from India before opening the next campaign.

The province of Chekeang, which was now the seat of our operations, is intersected by large rivers, and is traversed by the great Imperial Canal, which, taking its commencement from the city of Hang-chow-foo, and passing through the most fertile and densely-populated provinces, crossing in its course the two great rivers, the Yangtze Keang and the Yellow River, runs northward nearly as far as the imperial capital, which is dependent upon it not only for its wealth, but even for its means of daily subsistence. A blow inflicted upon its immense traffic at one extremity must necessarily vibrate along its whole course, and be painfully felt at the other end; and the great internal trade of China, through all its endless ramifications, upon which perhaps the bulk of the population depend for their subsistence, must suffer a universal and dangerous derangement. What was of quite as much importance, also, the imperial revenues would, in a great measure, cease to flow into the imperial treasury.

The city of Ningpo, therefore, the largest in the province next to Hang-chow-foo, wealthy from its great trade, easily accessible by water, and formerly the site of an English factory, was admirably adapted for winter quarters. The troops were placed, in the first instance, in two large public buildings, and the greatest forbearance was exercised towards the persons and property of the inhabitants. Proclamations were likewise issued, calling upon the people to return to their ordinary avocations without fear of molestation; and some of the principal inhabitants were requested to assemble, in order that it might be explained to them that it was the wish of our high officers to afford them all possible protection, and to restore order to the city; that the hostility of the English was to be directed against the government and not against the people.

All this sounded well at first, and was received with great thankfulness by the Chinese, who seemed very well disposed to be taken under British protection. But the announcement which was afterwards made to them, that they were to pay a heavy sum as ransom for the city, and as an *equivalent* for the value of our "protection," was received with very great disfavour and reluctance. Very little of the sum demanded was ever forthcoming; and the substitution of a tax or contribution, of ten per cent, upon the estimated value of the property, was the cause of much subsequent ill-will and some injustice. In fact, notwithstanding the promises and hopes which were held out, a very small portion of it was ever collected, and it was at all times a subject of much

bitterness to the people. A tax of ten per cent. upon the value of the cargoes of all vessels passing up the river, which was afterwards enforced, was much more successful; in fact, it was little else than the collection of the imperial revenues, which the Chinese were always liable to pay. It was, however, in a great degree evaded, by an increase of smuggling along the coast, which the disorganized state of the local government of the province greatly favoured.

Generally speaking, the collection of any considerable body of troops together in any particular province or locality in China, so far from strengthening the hands of the authorities, is more likely to occasion disturbance among the inhabitants. Their raw, ill-disciplined levies are under little restraint, and repeated complaints are always made against the lawlessness of the troops. Little confidence being placed in their regular soldiers, who had been so recently defeated, the people were now called upon by the authorities to collect their brave men from all the villages and hamlets along the coast, and to organize them into bands, for mutual "defence against the proud rebels;" but, in most instances, these bodies of uncontrolled patriots became a scourge to their own neighbourhood, and absolutely useless for any purpose of defence against the enemy.

Ningpo is situated upon the extremity of a tongue of land at the point of junction of two rivers, or two branches of the same river, which unite just below the town, and form the Tahea, or Ningpo river. Both of these branches are extremely tortuous, and have numerous villages along their banks, which are in some parts picturesque and well cultivated. One of them leads up, in a north-easterly direction, to the district town of Yuyow, whence there is a canal, supposed to lead to Hang-Chow-foo: the distance is about forty miles; and nearly half-way up this branch, situated about four miles from the river's bank, is the town of Tsekee. Both of these towns shortly became the scene of our operations, our object being to disperse the Chinese forces, which were collecting at various points for a threatened attack upon us at Ningpo. The other, or south-western branch of the Ningpo river, leads up, at the distance of about thirty miles, to the town of Fungway, which we also designed to attack, if necessary.

At Ningpo itself, one of the most interesting objects is the bridge of boats, connecting the town with the suburbs. It is apparently well contrived to answer the purpose for which it is intended. The boats are all connected together by two chains running across, and resting upon them, extending from one side of the river to the other. This serves to keep the boats in their places, without their being moored, and a regular bridge of planks

is carried from one to the other, but only destined for foot-passengers, as carts for draught are unknown.

BRIDGE OF BOATS AT NINGPO.

A few days after the place was taken, the Nemesis and Phlegethon proceeded up the north-western branch towards Yuyow, the Admiral and suite being on board the former, and Sir Henry Pottinger and suite on board the latter. They also took in tow the Wellesley's launch and pinnace, manned and armed. The object was simply to explore that branch of the river, and to ascertain whether any Chinese were collecting in that direction. Nothing could be more picturesque than the scenery the whole way up; the bendings of the river bringing a constant succession of new objects into view, relieved by fine mountain scenery in the rear. Numerous villages lay scattered upon its banks, but there was no appearance of any preparations for defence. The inhabitants generally, so far from running away with fear, crowded the banks with looks of the utmost astonishment. The scenery continued to increase in interest as they ascended, and particularly at a place called Poonpoo, where there was a cluster of extremely pretty country houses, or villas, said to belong to several of the high officers of government. On every side the country appeared to be in the highest state of cultivation. About two-thirds of the way up, the river became considerably narrower, and the turnings were sometimes so sudden, that it was not without some difficulty the long, sharp Nemesis could be guided round them. At length

about five o'clock, she reached the city of Yuyow, and came to anchor close under its walls, in about three fathoms water.

The Admiral, accompanied by the numerous officers who had attended him, including Captains Maitland, Herbert, Blake, and others, now got into the boats from the Nemesis, as did also Sir Henry Pottinger, and his suite from the Phlegethon, and proceeded up the river above the town, to reconnoitre. They passed under a well-constructed stone bridge of three arches, the centre one being about 30 feet high; but the day was already far advanced, and the rain began to fall heavily. Nothing of a hostile character was observed in the neighbourhood, and they all very gladly returned without landing, but did not reach the steamers until they were completely drenched. Sir William Parker did not escape suffering from the exposure he had undergone, and was laid up almost immediately afterwards with an attack of rheumatism; indeed, it was often a matter of surprise that he escaped with so little illness during his anxious and indefatigable services, in which he never spared himself on any occasion, or shrunk from any exposure.

In the city of Ningpo, things gradually began to settle down into their regular course; the Chinese soon opened their shops, and were very glad to sell their wares at an exorbitant price. Provisions, also, were brought in plentifully, and there was every probability that the winter would be passed in tolerable tranquillity. Some of the principal people are said to have come forward, and expressed their willingness to be taken *permanently* under British rule, under a guarantee of protection; but their professions were little relied on.

Some of the temples at Ningpo are very handsome, and one of them in particular is well worth seeing. They fortunately escaped the plundering of the Chinese thieves. Not so, however, the private houses, particularly in the suburbs, which were less under our control, and were almost as extensive as the town. In these, one whole street was discovered entirely at the mercy of the mob, who had carried off nearly everything that could be moved, from almost every house. Several of these rogues were caught in the act, and were handed over to the tender mercies of the people themselves. Several of them, also, were well flogged, and others had their tails cut off, by the General's orders.

One of the buildings which attracted most interest was the town prison, in which Captain Anstruther and others of our unfortunate countrymen had been so long confined. The identical cages in which they had been shut up were found still there, and others of a similar kind, ready for the reception of any of the barbarians who might fall into their hands. The way in which

Captain Anstruther managed to find out his old prison was rather curious. He is said to have had himself blindfolded, and then carefully numbered the steps he had formerly taken, and the different turnings he had made; and by these means he contrived to hit the very spot within a few yards.

A party arrived there in time to get possession of some Sycee silver which had not yet been removed from the offices; but it is supposed that much more had already been carried away by plunderers. A very large quantity of the base coin called *cash*, the *only* coined money of China, was found in another part of the town; and the enormous stores of grain, belonging to government, were also taken possession of, and afterwards sold to the people at a cheap rate. This produced a considerable addition to the prize fund, but the policy of selling it at so low a rate was somewhat questioned. Every man was allowed to go into the store, at which a strong guard was placed, and fill as large a sack as he could carry out of it for *one dollar*, its actual value being about *four*. But only a small portion of this was actually obtained by the *poor* people; for it was asserted, at least by the Chinese, that the *farmers themselves* managed to get a considerable share of it by means of their servants, so that they might be able to continue to keep up the price by a species of monopoly. It was also feared that, in case of a failure of the crops, a serious famine might happen to the people, owing to the want of the accustomed stores which are usually laid up by the government, in the paternal spirit of providing the poor with food at a moderate price, in the event of such a contingency. The sum added to the prize-fund by the sale of these stores of grain, of which there was said to be two years' supply, was considerable. There were also large stores of sugar discovered in the town.

Among other unexpected prizes, not the least interesting was that of a stud of Chinese horses, or ponies, small, but hardy little things, used exclusively for saddle, and generally employed only by the higher mandarins. Upwards of 40 of these ponies were selected, and trained for the artillery, and amusing enough it was to see the commencement of their apprenticeship. One of the great disadvantages the General laboured under, on many occasions, was the want of horses for his staff; the necessity of carrying his orders on foot not only caused delay, but rendered the duty very harassing, particularly during some of the hot, sultry days in the earlier part of this campaign.

The Chinese horses are extremely small, literally ponies, but strong, and of good bone and tolerable figure; but they are not numerous, being considered rather as a valuable indication of rank or wealth than as the common slaves of man, either for labour or

amusement. The Chinese take no pains to improve the breed, and very little care of them, as to their food, grooming, &c. In reality, a Chinaman is the most awkward-looking horseman imaginable, and the walk or the jog-trot is the only pace that either his inclination, *his dignity*, or the slippery nature of his causeways, permits him to adopt. Population in China is so dense, and consequently labour so abundant, that they stand in very little need of the help of the lower animals to assist the hand of man, and rather grudge the food which is necessary for their maintenance.

The best way to obtain a good view of Ningpo and the surrounding country is to ascend the pagoda, which forms one of its most striking objects. It is 155 feet high, of an octagonal form, having windows all the way up, with a lantern in each; so that, if lighted up, the effect would be very striking. The lower part of it is built of stone, but the upper part of brick. In other respects it differs but little from other structures of the same class. It appears to be connected with a public burial-ground, as numerous graves and monuments lie scattered round it. From the top you get quite a panoramic view of the city and the river, with its two tributaries or branches, the mountains in the distance, and the fine, rich, alluvial, well-watered, and highly-cultivated plain extending down towards the sea-coast. The town itself differs little in appearance from that of Canton and most other towns in China, but it is considerably smaller than the former; it has the same narrow streets, crossed here and there by the heavy stone arches, or rather tables, which are frequently erected to do honour to some great or popular man, the same curious, long, ornamented sign-boards, on each side of the shops, and the same crowded clusters of houses, of curious shape, and mostly of one story.

Many of the houses of the better class of people, not deserted entirely by their owners, were visited by our officers, who generally met with a very courteous reception. Indeed, the Chinese well know how to make a virtue of necessity, and to conciliate your good graces by the offer of tea, cakes, tobacco, or flowers, rather than run the chance of exciting your ill-will, or your less friendly visits, by an affectation of independence or rude indifference. The Chinese of the respectable classes are capable of being extremely courteous, are well-bred, and even elegant in their manners; and the proper mode of treating them is to insist on this kind of demeanour as if it were due to you, and accept it as your *right*. But there are no people who *can* be more rude, overbearing, and uncourteous than the Chinese, when they think that they can withhold from you with impunity, or without notice, the courtesies which are habitual among themselves.

Considering how much the property of the inhabitants of Ningpo was at our mercy, it is creditable that so little injury was done to it during the many months in which the city was in our possession. But it is also deserving of remark that, during the whole period of the war with the Chinese, no considerable collection of Chinese curiosities or works of art, many of which are extremely interesting and novel to us, was made for public purposes. With the exception of a few specimens of Chinese weapons and clothing, which were sent to different public institutions by private individuals, no attempt was made to form a sort of Chinese Museum.

It is also to be regretted that some one or more scientific gentlemen were not attached to the expedition, who, with the assistance of an interpreter, might have made us acquainted with many interesting subjects of natural history, and of the productions of the country. Where, for instance, is the immense quantity of Sycee silver, which is *annually* exported from China, obtained? Where are their copper-mines, and how are they worked? Coal mines also exist in several parts of China; at Ningpo, coal was sold in small quantities, and at Nankin immense supplies of excellent coal were found laid up for the coming winter, and our steamers found it answer very well. The mineral productions of China, of which there are probably many, are almost entirely unknown to us.

The taste for European manufactures had reached Ningpo long before we got possession of it. There were one or two shops for the sale of what were called Canton wares, that is, English goods brought up from Canton, and, of course, sold enormously dear. In one of them was a quantity of English glass of various kinds. English gilt buttons were found, and were in demand for the dresses of the higher classes, particularly of the women, who seemed to prefer those which had the East India Company's crest, the lion, upon them. A large quantity of cloth was also found imported from Russia, and called Russian cloth; but, in reality, there is little doubt that the cloth was manufactured in *England*, for *Russian merchants*, expressly for their overland trade with China. It is a known fact, that such orders for cloth made expressly of a particular kind, have long been executed in England. This, then, ought *now* to become a direct trade in our own hands.

The Chinese appear to excel in the art of wood-carving, some very fine specimens of which were found in their houses. One house in particular at Ningpo was distinguished by the tasteful carving of its furniture, particularly of that which belonged to the bed-rooms. Some of their wardrobes and bedsteads were elegantly

ornamented with carved work, inlaid with various kinds of wood, and representing landscapes, figures, &c. Some of their specimens of fretwork, with silk at the back, and of embroidered silk furniture, were extremely elegant. Above all things, they excel in the art of *varnishing* plain or carved wood, and they have also some method of giving a fine gloss to painted work, which very much increases its durability, although it is different from varnish.

One of their greatest deficiencies appears to be in the mode of lighting their houses. Glass is so little used, and the manufacture of it so imperfectly known among them, that almost the only mode which they adopt of letting in the light, and of excluding the air at the same time, is by lattice-work windows, sometimes neatly carved, and lined inside with very thin transparent paper. Occasionally, however, a single pane of glass is found in the centre of the window, while in other instances the whole of it is covered with the thin transparent lining of oyster-shells, which admits a very imperfect light. The artificial lighting of the best houses is often very well effected by coloured lamps, several of which are suspended from the ceiling, and painted with various designs, landscapes, &c. But the painting is *on*, not *in* the glass; the latter art appears to be quite unknown to the Chinese.

Generally speaking, it was not safe to wander far from the gates of the town, unless when a large party went together upon a shooting excursion. Pheasants, and a sort of pigeon, with woodcocks and teal, were usually found without difficulty; but the Chinese seemed mightily astonished that any one should take the trouble to *walk* over the country, mile after mile, merely for the trouble of shooting birds. It is curious that, expert and indefatigable as they are in catching fish, they should be so indifferent to the art of catching or killing birds, which are to be found in almost every part of the country in great abundance; but they seem to be deterred by the trouble of seeking for them, and have very little knowledge of the relative value of the different species as articles of diet. The lower class of people will joyfully devour any kind of bird you shoot for them. I have seen them glad to get birds of prey even, and yet they take no pains to secure the thousands of wild-fowl which are to be found upon the banks of the same rivers in which they catch their fish.

That it was not safe to go out alone, even well-armed, soon became evident, for they made more than one attempt to carry off a sentry on duty, and would have succeeded in their object, had not the guard instantly come up on the alarm being given. On these occasions, as may be supposed, a Chinaman or two stood a chance of being shot. But the boldest of them all were the professed thieves, who continued to commit depredations upon their

countrymen in the most barefaced manner, in spite of the severe examples which were sometimes made. On one occasion, when a small foraging party was out looking for poultry and bullocks, some Chinamen pointed out a spot where they said a quantity of Sycee silver had been concealed. This was too great a temptation for the soldiers to resist; but, the moment they had loaded themselves with the silver, the Chinese surrounded them, and they were obliged to let fall the Sycee in order to defend themselves, and then beat a retreat. A quarrel then arose, of course, among the Chinese about the division of the spoil, of which *they* had not robbed their countrymen, but had only captured it from the barbarians.

So many attempts were made to entrap our soldiers and sailors, and to carry them off, both at Ningpo and Chinhae, that great caution was necessary, and, in spite of the many warnings, some of their attempts were successful. They had less inclination to molest the officers; not that they loved them better, or desired them less as prisoners, but that they had greater respect for the double-barrelled pistols which many of the officers carried in their pockets, and which *all* were supposed to be provided with. An attempt was made more than once by the Chinese to rob our commissariat stores, but it was frustrated by our vigilance. But the Chinese are uncommonly expert housebreakers, as many people in Hong-Kong can testify, where houses and stores of the most substantial kind were broken into in a very ingenious manner, generally by removing some of the stones or bricks near the foundation.

The attempt to establish a Chinese police at Ningpo, and also at Chusan, was tolerably successful; at least it was not difficult to find men who were willing enough to *receive the pay*, and wear the badge of a policeman; but it is not quite so certain that they were equally ready to detect thieves, or to protect the property of individuals. Sometimes, by way of appearing to do something, they gave false information, which served to create a stir for the moment. Upon the whole, they were certainly of some use; but the want of knowledge of the language, and the small number of interpreters, since Mr. Gutzlaff had almost the sole management of them, rendered their services less available than could have been wished. They were occasionally useful as spies, and obtained information of reports among their countrymen, concerning the plans and intentions of the mandarins. But, besides these, we had regular spies in our pay, one of whom, a Chinese who spoke English, and came to be known by the name of Blundell, was sent up to Hang-chow-foo, but was afraid to deliver the paper which was entrusted to him, and returned without having accomplished his object. He was supposed to be employed as a

spy by both parties, the Chinese as well as ourselves. Generally, pretty correct information was obtained of the proposed movements of the Chinese, the assembling of their troops, and the orders of the imperial cabinet.

At Ningpo, and in its neighbourhood, there were no indications of hostile preparations for some time after the place was in our possession. It was not until quite the end of November that reports, upon which reliance could be placed, reached the General, that troops were collecting in some of the neighbouring towns, particularly at Yuyow, the town which had already been visited, and rumours were afloat of some projected attack upon Ningpo itself. Plans now began to be laid for dispersing these different bodies of troops, and instilling a wholesome terror into the minds of the people; but active measures were not taken until two or three weeks afterwards.

In the mean time, the Nemesis was sent over to Chusan, stopping a day or two at Chinhae on the way, to procure fuel, and to overhaul a number of large junks which were at anchor a few miles from the mouth of the river. They were found to be laden principally with peas, rice, oil, walnuts, liquorice-root, &c.; and, had they been met with a few months later, they would all have been detained, as were hundreds of a similar kind at Woosung; but at this time they were not molested. *Opium was found in them all*, in small quantities only, for the use of the people on board, but apparently not for sale.

The weather was now clear and bracing, and the sickness which had partially attacked our troops, on first taking possession of the town, had almost entirely disappeared.

On the occasion of a visit to the opposite side of the river, a singular circumstance occurred. Two Chinamen were seen at some distance, hastening along with a large round basket carried between them, carefully covered up, but which at first attracted little notice. Capt. Hall had the curiosity to raise the covering a little, when, to their great surprise and amusement, a very young and pretty-looking Chinese lady was found stowed in it, hoping, probably, by this device to escape detection. The poor thing was almost frightened to death; but she remained perfectly quiet until she was covered up again, and the men were allowed to trot away with her as fast as they could. Shortly afterwards, a gay-looking sedan chair, probably belonging to some of the mandarins, was seen passing near a village; but no sooner did the party run up to examine it, than its occupier jumped out, and ran away for his life.

But the most singular thing of this kind was finding a Chinese lady stowed away in the locker of a boat, as if she were dead.

Orders had been issued by the Admiral to examine all junks leaving the city, to prevent them from carrying away plunder. One of these had just been examined, without finding anything of value on board, when it occurred that something might still be concealed in the after-locker, a sort of cupboard of moderate size. On opening this sanctum, it appeared to contain what looked like the dead body of a female, recently put into it, well dressed, and, judging from her handsome shoes and smal' feet, a person of some importance. This looked a very strange affair; but as no one could speak a word of the language, it was impossible to inquire into it. However, as it appeared to be a capital opportunity to examine the nature of a Chinese lady's foot, the men were ordered by Capt. Hall to lift the body out; and this appeared likely to be no easy matter, so closely did it seem to be jammed in. But the moment the Jacks laid hold of the shoulders, a tremendous scream issued forth, as if a ghost had suddenly been endowed with some unearthly voice. The poor thing had only shammed death, in order, as she thought, to escape detection. She was now very gently lifted out, and not without some difficulty, being literally half dead with the fright and confinement. In the bottom of the locker beneath her was found a bag of money, with which she had evidently attempted to escape. She was, of course, allowed to go away without further molestation, boat and all.

The question of infanticide has been already alluded to in a previous chapter. According to Barrow, it was considered part of the duty of the police at Pekin to collect every morning, in a cart sent round for the purpose, the dead bodies of infants which were thrown into the streets during the night. Sometimes they were found still alive, and these were commonly rescued by the Roman Catholic missionaries, who attended for the purpose, and subsequently brought them up in their own faith. Mr. Gutzlaff also alludes to this horrible practice, as being far from uncommon, and as being perpetrated without any feelings of remorse, but almost exclusively upon females. Among the immense population which live in boats, and upon the rivers of China, it is impossible to calculate how many are disposed of by being drowned. But, in Pekin, Barrow gives the average number destroyed, at twenty-four every day. Some allowance must, however, be made for those which *die of disease* during the earliest period of life in a country where medical science is at so low an ebb.

With the exception of some of the Tartar towns, such as Chapoo and Chinkeang-foo, where wholesale murder was committed by the men upon their wives and children as soon as the places were captured, little evidence was obtained of the existence

of the revolting practice of infanticide. We have seen that at Amoy the bodies of several infants were found sewed up in sacks; and it was also said that a cave was found at Chinhae, in which were a number of bodies of female infants, also tied up in bags. But it was an extremely rare thing to find an infant abandoned in the streets, alive or dead. An instance, however, occurred at Ningpo one evening, when Capt. Hall and a party from the Nemesis were returning towards their boats. They were just passing a joss-house, or temple, when something lying upon the steps leading to the entrance attracted attention. On examination, it proved to be a female infant (always females) recently abandoned, and, though extremely cold, still living. The little thing was carried down to the boat by a marine, who was the orderly. Every attempt was made as soon as it was brought on board, to revive it, but without success.

Infanticide, undoubtedly, does exist in China, but it may be suspected that the statements of its prevalence have been exaggerated, and, certainly, it is confined to the lower classes, who have great difficulty to provide the means of subsistence. The Chinese are generally remarkably fond of their children. A Chinaman's three great wishes and most cherished hopes are—length of days, plenty of *male* offspring, and literary honours. To be the patriarch of a long line of descendants is generally the aim of his proudest ambition.

After a delay of two or three days at Chinhae, the Nemesis was sent over at the end of November to Chusan, whither the Admiral and Sir Henry Pottinger had already preceded her. Great changes and improvements were found to have taken place, even in this short space of time. The shops were now all open, and the streets filled with people, who were pursuing their ordinary avocations without any appearance of alarm, or fear of interruption. In fact, they were settling down very quietly under our rule, much more so than on the former occasion when the town was in our occupation.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The eventful year 1841 was now drawing fast to a close. The troops at Ningpo had been moved into more convenient quarters for the winter, the close of which was anxiously looked for in the hope that sufficient reinforcements would arrive to be able to commence the next campaign with vigour. The weather set in intensely cold, in the middle of December. On the 14th of that

month, the hills were all covered with snow, which soon began to fall heavily in the town as well, and proved that, although the summers are very warm in China, the winters are intensely cold and trying. The health of the troops continued good, supplies were tolerably abundant, and the officers managed to beguile the time by shooting-parties in the neighbourhood, where plenty of game, woodcocks, snipes, pheasants, &c., were to be found.

For some time, as was before stated, reports had been brought in of the assembling of large bodies of Chinese troops in some of the neighbouring towns, with the object, it was supposed, of preventing the people from holding friendly communications with us, and perhaps also to threaten us with an attempt to recover the city. The continuance of frosty weather, which rendered their soft paddy-fields firm and fit for operations, determined the General to make a military expedition as far as Yuyow, in order to ascertain how far these reports were correct, and to dislodge the Chinese troops if any should be found collected there.

On the 27th of December, the three steamers, Nemesis, Sesostris, and Phlegethon, having a number of boats in tow, and carrying altogether about 700 men, including the marines and seamen, proceeded up the north-western branch of the river. The Nemesis conveyed Sir Hugh Gough, Sir William Parker, and a detachment of the 18th Royal Irish, together with a small detachment of artillery. The Sesostris, owing to her greater draught of water, was compelled to bring up below the intended point of disembarkation. A few miles below the town a party of Chinese soldiers were dispersed who had evidently been employed to stake the river across, which they had already commenced.

In the evening, the Nemesis and Phlegethon anchored close off the town of Yuyow, when crowds of Chinese were observed running down to their boats and trying to make their escape up the river. The troops were landed without delay, and took possession of a small undefended battery of four guns recently erected, and then marched up the hill overlooking the city, without opposition, and took up their quarters for the night in the joss-house, or temple, upon the top of it, from which a good view of the country had been obtained on a former occasion. The city was said to be occupied by upwards of a 1000 troops, and preparations were made for escalading the walls on the following morning, when the seamen and marines were landed with that object, under the Admiral in person. Just at the critical moment, some of the respectable inhabitants came out, and stated that the garrison had withdrawn during the night, and that the gates were open for us. It was little expected that treachery was intended, and the troops, with the marines and seamen, entered the town

in two divisions; and having got upon the ramparts, they followed them in opposite directions, in order to go round the town and meet at the opposite side. At the same time, the Nemesis weighed and moved a little higher up the river; and from the mast-head it was distinctly seen that a body of Chinese troops were drawn up outside the town, close to a bridge leading over a canal. The boats were, therefore, sent further up the river, manned and armed, in case the Chinese should attempt to escape in that direction.

Just at this time, the Chinese opened a fire of ginjals and matchlocks upon the naval division, as they were advancing along the wall of the town; but our troops, after some little delay, having found their way out of the town by the northern gate, closely pursued the enemy, who had already taken flight. The Nemesis, and subsequently the Phlegethon, opened fire on them the moment they were perceived. The pursuit was toilsome, owing to the peculiar character of the frozen paddy-fields, covered with snow, which the Chinese could scramble over faster than our men; but some of the Chinese were killed, and some were taken prisoners. Most of them threw off their thick wadded jackets, and flung away their arms, and, having a good knowledge of the country and of the direction of the causeways, which were completely covered with snow, were able to make good their escape. The pursuit was discontinued, after following them seven or eight miles; but a military station, which was passed in the way, was set fire to and destroyed.

In the mean time, the boats of the Nemesis, under Captain Hall, having pushed on some way up the river, had overtaken two mandarin boats, which were trying to escape. A quantity of official papers were found in them, together with some Sycee silver, which was handed over to the prize-agents; some valuable fur cloaks were also taken, and the boats were then burned, the people belonging to them being first sent ashore. Several farm-houses on shore were then searched for troops, but none were found. At some distance, however, some men were seen carrying a handsome mandarin chair in great haste across the country. Chase was given, and it was soon overtaken; but, instead of a mandarin, it was found to contain a very good-looking young *mandarin's lady*, with an infant in her arms, and a quantity of trinket-boxes. The poor thing was much frightened, but was allowed by Captain Hall to be carried on without molestation. On returning to the boats, they were pushed up further, in the direction in which our troops had followed the enemy.

At Yuyow, an extensive depôt was discovered outside the town, containing ammunition, arms, and clothing, and was totally

destroyed. Four guns which were discovered concealed near the landing-place, were embarked on board the steamer. It was now evident that the reports which were brought to us concerning the preparations of the Chinese were perfectly correct.

In the town itself there was nothing particularly worthy of attention; and on the 30th, our force was re-embarked, and the steamers returned down the river, and came to anchor for the night, as near as they could to the town of Tszekee, which lies, as before stated, about four miles from its banks. On marching up to it the following day, it was found unoccupied; and even the authorities of the town, alarmed by the intelligence from Yuyow, had fled from the place. The inhabitants appeared peaceably inclined; and, in order the better to conciliate them, and to shew that our measures were solely directed against their government, the large public stores of rice were distributed to the poor people of the place. The same evening, our force returned to Ningpo, having, during these five days, succeeded in spreading alarm throughout all the adjacent country, and in destroying all the reliance of the people in the power of their own troops to protect them.

The year 1841 had now closed, and it had been the most eventful one since the commencement of our quarrel with the Chinese. Our measures had assumed a new character of vigour, while treaties had been made and unmade by the Chinese with almost equal facility. But deep and lasting humiliation had been inflicted upon them; the honour of the English flag had been vindicated, and the strength of her arms had been tried, and proved to be irresistible to the Chinese.

It was soon discovered that our descent upon Yuyow, and our visit to Tszekee, had spread the utmost consternation through all the district, and alarmed even the high officers at the provincial capital, Hang-chow-foo. The imperial commissioner and many of the wealthy inhabitants now fled out of that city, and sought refuge in Soo-chow-foo, nearly 100 miles further to the northward. In fact, there was a general dread of our immediate advance upon the former city; and there is little doubt that the General would have gladly undertaken the expedition, had he possessed sufficient force to do so without giving up Ningpo.

Some encouragement was given to this flattering expectation by the fact of the Phlegethon steamer and the Bentinck surveying vessel being sent, early in January, to examine the great bay of Hang-chow-foo, and the port of Chapoo, which, as it were, commands the approach to the city, and is the centre of its commerce. This hoped-for movement in advance, however, never took place. But, with a view to keep up in the minds of the Chinese the

impression which had been produced by our movement upon Yuyow by the north-western branch of the river, a similar attack was projected upon Fungwah, which lies nearly at the same distance up the south-western branch. No authorized expedition had yet been made to explore this branch; but, on two occasions, Captain Hall and some of his officers and men had proceeded a considerable way up, partly moved by curiosity, and partly with a view to examine the river. On one occasion, they must have nearly reached the city of Fungwah itself.

In both these excursions, the Chinese seemed very much astonished and alarmed at the boldness of the attempt. The first excursion was merely a walking and shooting party, but enough was seen of the country to distinguish it as a rich, well-cultivated, and picturesque tract. The small cotton-plant was cultivated in great abundance, and the women (at least the elder ones) sat quietly at their doors, busy at the spinning wheel, without appearing to be much alarmed. Several canals were observed close to the river side, but not flowing into or communicating directly with it. They were separated from it by rather a steep *inclined plane, made of stone-work,* intended as a substitute for locks, with strong windlasses for the purpose of hauling the boats up on one side, and letting them down on the other; certainly an original and curious contrivance.

The second excursion was much more extensive, and was made in one of the steamers' cutters up the river. On passing through the first village, four shots were heard, but it was difficult to say whether they were fired at the boat, as the shots were not seen to fall. The river was found to be remarkably tortuous, so as to appear sometimes, when viewed from a distance, as if it ran in contrary directions. Numerous pretty-looking villages were passed without any appearance of hostility; and, at the distance of about 18 miles, the river was found to divide into two branches, one of which continued in a westerly direction, and the other ran about south-east. Following the latter a short distance farther, a well-built stone bridge was discovered, with five arches, the centre one about twenty feet above the water, which was here from five to six fathoms deep; the span of the principal arch was 35 feet, and upon the top of the bridge was a sort of sentry-box, or small look-out place, secured with a padlock.

Near at hand, upon the left bank of the river, was a very pretty village, in which there was one large house, distinguished from the others by having Chinese characters carved upon it, the meaning of which, of course, could not be ascertained. About a quarter of a mile above the bridge, the banks of the river were studded with well-built houses, surrounded by groves of trees,

among which the tallow-tree was the most striking, by the peculiar reddish tint of its foliage at that time of year. The course of the river was now about south-east, aud it was still nearly one hundred yards broad, with three fathoms water.

Three miles above the first bridge a second was discovered, and the river now turned due south. A little beyond this point the party landed, as it was now getting late, and ascended a hill upon the left bank of the river, from which there was a beautiful view of the surrounding country and the hills in the distance. A high pagoda could be distinguished some way off to the westward, and a round, white watch-tower, or look-out house, upon a hill to the eastward, covered with fir-trees, about a mile distant. At first the villagers seemed terribly frightened, but, soon perceiving that no mischief was intended, approached with the most eager curiosity, anxious to examine everything, particularly the boat and the men's clothes. Their manner was respectful and orderly, which is generally the case with the Chinese, if properly treated.

It was now time to descend the river, although the flood-tide was still making. On approaching the principal stone bridge, it was found crowded with people, so that it was necessary to arrange some plan of defence, in case their purpose should prove to be one of hostility rather than of curiosity. If necessary, Capt. Hall resolved that all the party should hastily land at the extremity of the bridge, except two men, who were as quickly as possible to push the boat through the nearest arch, and then pull it across to the opposite side; while those who had landed were to force their way across the bridge, and re-embark in the confusion on the opposite side. On coming up to the bridge, however, no opposition was offered, and indeed it was noticed that there were a number of women among the lookers-on, and that many others were hobbling out of their houses, led by irresistible curiosity to get a first look at the strangers. Abundance of wild fowl were seen along the banks of the river, several of which were shot; and, late in the evening, the party again reached their vessel at Ningpo, well rewarded for the day's excursion. The small; walled town of Fungwah is situated less than thirty miles up this same branch of the river.

On the 10th of January, the General started from Ningpo, with the object of making a descent upon Fungwah, in the expectation that some military stores, and probably a small body of Chinese soldiers, would be discovered. The Nemesis and Phlegethon were both employed on this service; the former vessel carrying detachments of the 49th, 18th, and 55th regiments, with artillery, sappers, and miners, and followers, and having on board Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker, with their several suites. Several

boats were also taken in tow. As the steamers could not pass beyond the first bridge, the troops were all landed at that point, with Sir Hugh Gough at their head, intending to march direct upon Fungwah, while the Admiral continued to advance up the river, with the boats carrying the seamen and marines. No opposition was met with, and both divisions arrived simultaneously at the city walls. It was found that the Chinese soldiers had abandoned the place, and the authorities had also fled. The inhabitants and neighbouring peasantry all seemed peaceably inclined, though apparently overcome with astonishment and curiosity. The prospect from the hills at the back of Fungwah was very striking, and abundance of rice and other grain crops appeared to be cultivated. On the following morning, nothing remained to be done but to destroy the government buildings, and to distribute the public granaries to the people, as had been the case at other places. In the afternoon, the whole force rejoined the steamers, and next day returned to Ningpo. The effect of these various movements must be viewed, not as involving matters of military skill or courage, but as calculated to have the most salutary effect upon the people and upon the government, not only by the alarm which they created, but by the good feelings and forbearance which were uniformly shewn towards the inhabitants, when in our power, and *abandoned* by their own authorities.

The result of the examination of the character of Hang-chow-foo Bay, by the Phlegethon and the Bentinck, appears at this time to have rather discouraged the idea of advancing upon the capital by the river which leads up to it. The tides were found to be so strong at the mouth of the river, that it was impossible to attempt to push even a steamer up with any degree of safety. The Phlegethon made the attempt to enter the river's mouth, but became wholly unmanageable, and was very nearly carried upon a sand-bank where she would probably have been lost. She was, however, got out of danger with some difficulty when the tide slackened, which it does very suddenly in that part. But no power of steam and sails combined was sufficient to stem the current, which seemed to hold the vessel completely at its mercy for some minutes.

A reconnoissance of the position of Chapoo, however sufficed to shew that it was accessible to our ships, and could be reduced without much difficulty; in which case the road to Hang-chow-foo, by the hills would be open to us, with a good causeway the whole distance of about fifty miles.

We may judge of the size and volume of water in most of the Chinese rivers, by the fact, that, even at Hang-chow-foo, the river is not less than four miles broad, opposite to the city, at

high water; while the rapidity of the current may be judged of by the fact of its diminishing to about two miles in breadth at *low water*, leaving a fine level strand as far down as the eye can reach towards the sea. This was noticed during the short visit paid to it by Lord Macartney's embassy.

Rumours of the arrival of reinforcements at Hang-chow-foo, and other parts of the province, now continued to be brought; and, before the end of February, Sir Hugh Gough also received reinforcements, by the arrival of part of the 26th regiment in the Jupiter troop-ship. The Cornwallis arrived at Chusan in January, for the flag of Sir William Parker, having succeeded in beating up the whole way from Hong-Kong, against the north-east monsoon, contrary to the anticipations of many, who doubted whether so heavy a ship would be able to accomplish it. The movement upon Hang-chow-foo, however, if at any time seriously thought of, seems now to have been quite abandoned; and, as we shall presently see, Chapoo was destined to be the grand point of attack for opening the next campaign.

In January, Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir William Parker went over to spend some time at Chusan, in the Nemesis, which vessel now required considerable repairs, and was ordered to undergo a thorough refit. It is astonishing how easily an iron vessel can be repaired. At Amoy, a large hole had been knocked in her bottom; and from being so continually employed in exploring rivers, running along coasts, and landing troops, it is not surprising that some repair was required; but it is worthy of remark, that she had been able to do her work so long and so well without it.

In the evening of the 5th of March, the arrival of the Clio, Captain Troubridge, was announced, (fourteen days only from Hong-Kong,) bringing the mails, and the joyful news of the promotions in the service, consequent upon the taking of Canton, and the exploits in the Canton River.

On the 7th of March, Captain Hall, in the Nemesis, was sent to reconnoitre Chusan, having Captain Collinson also on board, for the purpose of making surveying observations during the trip. They passed round the western and northern sides of the island, and having reached Taishan, which is about six or seven miles distant from it; they steamed all round that island, looking into the different bays, and spying into the villages, to see if they could discover a camp, or any signs of the presence of troops. The navigation round the island is dangerous, for there are several rocks, at different points, barely covered with water.

At length they anchored off a small town in a bay on the south-eastern side of the island, where several junks were seen

at anchor. To the north-east of the town stood a remarkable hill, from which it was expected that a view of the whole island could be obtained. Here the officers landed, with Captain Collinson's boat's crew, and part of that of the steamer, together with eight artillerymen. There was no appearance of hostility, and they all marched on to a second village, in which, as well as in the first, it was asserted by the people that there were no soldiers left in the island, as they had all gone away to another island in the neighbourhood. The party then returned on board, and the steamer moved up towards a creek, at which the water was too shallow for her to enter.

In the evening, Captain Collinson again landed in his gig, with a view to ascend to the top of the hill; and so confident was he that there were no armed men upon the island, that he declined taking an escort with him, and was with some difficulty persuaded by Captain Hall to allow two armed artillerymen to follow him, though himself quite unarmed. Lieutenant Bates accompanied him. Scarcely had they reached the top of the hill, and were beginning to take their observations, when a large body of armed Chinese were observed, emerging from their hiding places in the creek in which they had landed, which was at a point about two miles and a half from the steamer. Evidently their intention was to cut off their retreat, and make them prisoners. Flight was therefore the only resource, and had it not been for the assistance of the two artillerymen, they would have stood little chance of effecting their retreat to the boat. These two men, however, by coolly retreating alternately, the one firing while the other reloaded as he withdrew towards the landing-place, managed to keep the Chinese in check, so that Captain Collinson reached the boat in safety.

It was now a question what steps were best to be taken on the following day; for there could be little doubt that if the steamer left the island without landing a body of men to attack the Chinese soldiers, who evidently were in force, a report would be sent to the emperor of a great victory having been gained, in which the barbarians were, of course, driven into the sea, and their vessels sent away from the coast. It was therefore resolved to *make an impression* upon them; and accordingly at five o'clock in the morning, the four boats of the steamer manned and armed, under Captain Collinson and Captain Hall, with Lieutenant Bates, Mr. Freeze, and other officers of the ship, pushed off from the vessel, and proceeded up the creek. They had also eight artillerymen with them; and the two engineers likewise volunteered their services. The party numbered altogether 66, including officers.

About two miles and a half up the creek they discovered a number of transport junks, crowded with Chinese soldiers, with their banners flying. A little distance from the banks of the creek, which gradually sloped towards some detached houses above, were posted another body of the enemy; altogether there were probably 5 or 600 men.

Gradually, as the boats advanced, the soldiers who had not before landed joined the other body on shore, and commenced a distant fire of ginjals and matchlocks, without doing any mischief. It was, however, returned by the boats as they neared them, and their crews were just about to land, when a thick smoke was observed to issue from one of the nearest troop boats. It immediately occurred that this might arise from a train having been laid to blow up the boats if they should be taken possession of. It was therefore thought prudent to land a little lower down.

The moment the boats began to descend, the Chinese, thinking they were retreating, set up a loud shout, and advanced upon them, brandishing their spears in defiance, thinking that the victory was already won. Our men all landed as quickly as possible, and were formed into two columns; the right, or advanced one, led by Captain Hall himself, and the left by Mr. Freeze (mate R.N.,) the chief officer of the Nemesis. As soon as they were ordered to advance, the Chinese began to waver at their bold front, and the first volley poured into them, within pistol-shot, completely put them to flight. They were now so closely pursued that their military chest was captured, in charge of a mandarin and two soldiers, who were killed. The prize was found to consist of only 2000 dollars, but even that was a pleasant addition to the prize fund. The Chinese were pursued for some distance, about fifty of them being left upon the field, and eight taken prisoners. The houses on the rising ground above, in which some of the soldiers had been quartered, and also several of the transport junks in the creek, were immediately set on fire. After collecting some of the scattered arms as trophies of victory, the little party again returned to the steamer, the Chinese having been totally dispersed. She rejoined the Admiral at Chusan, the same evening.

So far this little gallant affair had been perfectly successful, in discovering the rendezvous of the Chinese; but it was believed that many of their soldiers had already crossed over to Chusan, disguised as peasants, in readiness to act in concert with other parties, whenever the attack should be made on the island. Capt. Collinson was, therefore, sent back again in the Bentinck, with orders to prevent the escape of the soldiers from the island of Taishan, and the Nemesis was directed to follow, as soon as she could get in her fuel.

It was now discovered that the Chinese had made their escape over to Chapoo. But the Admiral afterwards made a personal examination of the island, with a party of seamen and marines of the Cornwallis. No military depôt was discovered, but two government stations were completely destroyed. The effect of this spirited discomfiture of the Chinese, at Taishan, was to secure Chusan from future hostile attacks.

The assembling of these troops so close to Chusan was, doubtless, connected with the grand scheme of attack upon all our positions, which was attempted, at this very time, more particularly against Ningpo and Chinhae. It was probably also well known to the Chinese that Sir Hugh Gough was absent at Chusan, whither he had proceeded, in consequence of rumours afloat concerning the projected attack on that place.

The Chinese seem to have planned their attacks remarkably well; but so many reports had been before brought in of some projected operations by the Chinese, that at length very little attention came to be paid to them; and, when it was positively asserted by Mr. Gutzlaff, the interpreter, on the evening of the 9th, that, from certain information which he had received, there could be no doubt of a grand attack being resolved on that very night, no one really believed that anything of a serious nature would occur. It was doubted whether the Chinese, after their recent defeats, would have the moral courage to become themselves the *aggressors*. There were no external indications of any preparations for an attack, although some of the inhabitants were seen leaving the town on that day; and many of the tradesmen, with whom our men were in the habit of dealing, plainly told them that they would have hot work that night. All this was treated merely as a specimen of Chinese bravado.

It is remarkable that we should have had no certain tidings of the collection and preparation of such a vast number of fire-rafts and vessels, higher up the river, as soon proved to have been the case, for the iron steamers might at all times have been sent up, to ascertain how far any such reports were well grounded. The fact is, the Chinese *did* take us a little by surprise, and that is often the result of holding an enemy too cheap, and having too great a confidence in one's own resources. Circumstances favoured them to a certain extent; the smallness of our force rendered it impossible to keep a line of sentries along the whole circuit of the walls, which were nearly five miles round; the extent and nearness of the suburbs beyond the gates gave the enemy an easy approach without being observed, and the darkness of the night favoured the attempt.

The first intimation of the attack was by the firing of two

guns which the Chinese had brought down to the river's bank, against H.M.S. Columbine, which, together with the Modeste, was anchored before the town, as were also the H.C. steamers, Queen and Sesostris. This was at half-past twelve, P.M. But the firing was not repeated, (it having probably been only meant for a signal,) and nothing further occurred until about three o'clock; but, by this time, the garrison were under arms.

Four fire-rafts were now discovered dropping down the river, from its south western branch, (leading to Fungwah,) towards the Sesostris: and, but for the quickness with which one of her cables was slipped, and the assistance of her own boats, aided by two other boats from the Modeste, in towing them clear towards the shore, they would have been across the hawse of the Sesostris. Fortunately the rafts took the ground clear of the steamer, and exploded without doing any mischief.

All this time, the Chinese kept up a fire of small arms from the banks of the river, but without effect. But the Modeste, which was a little lower down the river, below the Sesostris, opened her broadside upon the eastern suburb, with the object of stopping the advance of the Chinese in that direction, and on the following morning it was discovered that her fire had demolished the walls of one or two houses, which fell in, and disabled the gun that had been brought down on purpose to attack the Modeste. So far, then, the attempt upon the riverside proved a total failure; but it served as a signal for the general attack upon the town, which began simultaneously at the southern and western gates. The extreme darkness of the night rendered it at first impossible for those who were at a distance to ascertain the precise points of attack. The principal assault, in the first instance, seems to have been upon the south gate, from within and without at the same time. The alarm was given, the bugles sounded throughout the town; and word was brought to Colonel Morris, who commanded the garrison, that the guard at the south gate had been driven in, and the same intelligence was also brought to Colonel Montgomerie, commanding the Madras Artillery, who were already under arms upon the ramparts.

A company of the 49th, under Captain M'Andrew, was immediately ordered up by Colonel Morris towards the south gate, which they were to retake, if it was found to have been carried by the enemy. At the same time, Colonel Montgomerie, with two howitzers, and a party of artillerymen, armed with fusils, commanded by Captain Moore, and reinforced by a strong patrol of the 18th, under Lieutenant Murray, proceeded also towards the south gate, which he now found in the possession of Captain

M'Andrew and his company, who had gallantly *retaken* the gate, after charging down the street which led to it, driving the Chinese before him with the bayonet, and killing a great many of them. The Chinese had penetrated as far as the market-place; many of them had scaled the walls, and were seen upon the ramparts; but upon being challenged, and seeing the troops advancing, most of them jumped back again over the ramparts, and in this way many were killed, or were shot at random as they were seen running away. Thus the south gate was completely cleared.

There is reason to believe that a good number of the Chinese soldiers must have previously come into the town in disguise, for the gates were attacked simultaneously both *from within* and *from without*. Their movements were so well concerted, that their approach was not discovered until they actually attacked the gates, and gallantly succeeded in *scaling the walls*. Had not the alarm been given by the firing of the ships in the river, and had the Chinese been well officered, it might have caused us heavy fighting to dislodge them from the town, part of which was, for a few minutes, in their possession. But even their successes, such as they were, only served to embarrass them, for they did not know how to turn them to account. It should be remarked, however, that Sir Hugh Gough had skilfully disposed his troops long before this event, by concentrating them in one part of the town, where their quarters were close to each other, and where they could be mutually supported in case of attack.

It was afterwards discovered that the attacking party were a new body of picked men from a distant province, who had never yet come into contact with our troops. Money was also found upon those who were killed, four or five dollars upon each, which had probably been given them as arrears of pay, or as a sort of bribe or extra allowance to induce them to fight. But other stimulants were also employed, for some of the wounded prisoners were evidently under the excitement of opium. Many of them were remarkably athletic, fine-looking men, and everything tended to prove that this was a grand and desperate effort.

Day was beginning to dawn, and the west gate was at this time found to be the principal scene of action; indeed, it was in that direction that the *main body* of the Chinese seem to have advanced. Orders had been sent to reinforce the guard at the west gate with the grenadiers of the 49th, and Colonel Morris also hurried up to it in person, with another company of the 49th; while Colonel Montgomerie, with the Artillery, having

been joined by Colonel Mountain, with a party of the 26th, proceeded in the same direction. On arriving at the west gate, it was found to have been gallantly and successfully defended by Lieutenant Armstrong, who commanded the guard of the 18th, assisted by a small detachment of the 49th, under Lieutenant Grant. The enemy had attacked it in great force, rushing boldly up to the very gate, which they attempted to force, while others were endeavouring to scale the wall. The grenadiers of the 49th arrived just in time to assist in completing the repulse of the Chinese.

Colonel Montgomerie, having now come up with his reinforcement, dashed at once through the gateway in pursuit, the enemy having been driven across a small bridge into the suburbs. Numerous dead bodies of Chinese were found close to the gate, but they appeared to be in great force in the suburbs, from which a smart but ineffectual fire of matchlocks was kept up. A few shells were thrown into the suburbs from the two howitzers; but it was evidently necessary to continue the pursuit through the suburbs, for the Chinese appeared to be in full retreat across a bridge at some distance down, which seemed to be the principal thoroughfare.

Our force on the spot was extremely small, amounting, when they had all fallen in, including artillerymen, to not more than one hundred and twenty-six rank and file, and ten officers. But with this small force Colonel Montgomerie determined to dash on, being assisted throughout by Colonel Mountain, C.B., Deputy-Adjutant-General; and, accordingly, they immediately advanced up the principal narrow street of the suburbs. Having followed it for about half a mile, they came upon the main body of the enemy, who crowded the whole length of the street in a dense column, but without appearing to be at all wavering or inclined to give way. On the contrary, a high officer on horseback was seen to encourage the men, who set up a great shouting, and brandished their swords and spears in defiance. But in a narrow street the dense mass was necessarily incommoded by its own numbers, and the steady fire of the head of our column, as they advanced upon them—one section delivering its fire, and the next taking its place for the first to reload—brought down all their foremost and boldest men, every shot telling with unerring certainty. They could neither advance to charge our column, nor could they retreat, as long as the rear of their column chose to hold their ground.

On coming up within about twenty paces of them, the two howitzers were ordered up to the front, while a party of the 18th, under Lieutenant Murray and Lieutenant Molesworth, of the

Artillery, were ordered round by a side lane to act upon the enemy's flank; Colonel Mountain and Colonel Montgomerie also went round, (having first waded across a canal,) and witnessed the terrific effect of the fire of three rounds of grape, in quick succession, from the howitzers, which dealt terrible havoc among them. At the same time, the detachment of the 18th fired upon them down the lane as they fled, and a scene of more complete discomfiture and slaughter could not be imagined.

The Chinese were soon in full flight in all directions across the country, the main body retreating along the banks of a canal in a continued line, not less than a mile long, while numerous smaller parties broke off from the main body, and tried to escape in the best way they could. Many were supposed to have been drowned in the canal. The pursuit was followed up for about seven or eight miles, and the loss of the enemy was estimated altogether at not less than from five to six hundred men, and only thirty-nine prisoners were taken. On our side, one man only was killed, and a few were wounded. The principal loss of the Chinese was inflicted by the fire of the howitzers upon their dense masses, in the narrow street, and the sustained fire of our column as it advanced upon them. Not a few, however, were killed inside the walls of the city. The force they brought against us is supposed to have exceeded five thousand men, consisting of their best soldiers, and a great part of them were evidently under the excitement of opium.

Early in the morning, the boats of the Modeste and Sesostris moved up the south-west branch of the river, in search of fire-boats, but found none. In the afternoon, however, the boats of the Columbine, under Captain Morshed, together with the Queen steamer, proceeded up the other, or north-western branch, and discovered, not far up, thirty-seven fire-vessels. They were all in a state of perfect preparation, being filled with combustibles and jars of powders, and also provided with *leather caps and fire-proof dresses* for the men who were to have the charge of them; each of them had also a small punt, or sampan, attached, for the escape of those on board. The early discovery of those which were first sent down, or probably their having been sent adrift too soon down *the other branch* of the river, had evidently disconcerted this part of their plan. The whole of these boats were scuttled and destroyed.

Some miles higher up, near Tsekee, many more junks, of every size and shape, were found filled with combustibles; and still more were discovered higher up, moored on each side of the river. It was also observed, that on the hills opposite to Tsekee, there were three Chinese encampments, one of which was set on

fire by the soldiers, as the boats approached. In fact, it became evident that preparations of a much more extensive kind than we could have anticipated had been made for one grand combined effort to drive us into the sea, before reinforcements could join us.

The attack upon Chinhae took place about the same time, but was much less important in its nature, and conducted with less vigour and resolution, than that on Ningpo. Early on the morning of the 10th March, the alarm was given that ten fire-vessels were floating down the river towards the ships of war and transports at anchor off Chinhae. The boats of the Blonde and the Hyacinth, under Commander Goldsmith of the latter vessel, and Lieutenant Dolling of the former, immediately dashed at them, and drove them on shore, out of the way of the shipping, where they exploded.

About the same time, a body of Chinese soldiers got up close to the west gate of Chinhae, without being discovered, until they opened a fire of ginjals, and attempted to force their way in. But Captain Daubeny, with a company of the 55th, immediately sallied out of the gate, and pursued them into the suburbs, whence they fled towards a joss-house, or temple, about a mile from the walls, where they joined the main body, about twelve hundred strong. Colonel Schoedde, with three companies of the 55th, now joined Captain Daubeny, and immediately charged them, and put them to flight. But it was very difficult to follow, or come within musket range of them, owing to the peculiar nature of the ground, which was cut up in all directions by water-courses; although the labyrinths of paths and causeways were, of course, perfectly well known to the retreating enemy. About thirty of the Chinese and two of their officers were killed, but the number of wounded could not be ascertained. A quantity of military weapons and some powder were captured. The plans of the Chinese had thus signally failed at all points of attack; but it must be admitted that at Ningpo they shewed a great deal of determination and personal courage, and their plans were, in reality, very well arranged.

Information of these important attacks was immediately sent over to Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker, who were at Chusan, and induced the General instantly to return to Ningpo. Sir William Parker also returned as soon as he had completed his examination of the island of Tai-shan: and he brought with him the Phlegethon and Nemesis, merely stopping at Chinhae on the way, to pick up a few marines and small-arm men from the Blonde. No time was then lost in pushing up the south-western branch of the river above Ningpo, whither the

General had preceded him with part of the 18th and 49th regiments, and two guns, in order to learn if the enemy were in force there.

Tidings had been brought to Sir Hugh Gough that a strong body of several thousand Chinese troops were posted not far from Fungwah, preparatory to another descent upon Ningpo. But, as soon as he had marched about six or seven miles up, the Sesostris steamer moving parallel with him by the river, with part of the 26th regiment on board, positive information was obtained that the enemy had retreated over the hills the preceding night, and that it would be useless to attempt to follow them.

It only now remained to advance against the strong body of the Chinese who were known to be posted along the banks of the other branch of the river, and who were reported also to have thrown up strong entrenched camps upon the Segoan hills, at the back of the town of Tsekee, and to be commanded by three of their most famous generals.

CHAPTER XXIX.

A HEAVY blow had now been inflicted upon the Chinese, by the sad reverses they had met with at Ningpo and at Chinhae, and by the defeat of all their designs against Chusan. It was, therefore, a favourable opportunity to follow up our successes, and turn them to the best advantage, before the effect of the impression already made could have time to diminish. It was ascertained that their troops had with difficulty been kept together after their late defeat; and it was reported that they were about to retreat towards Pickwan, a town situated about forty miles up the river, at which point they were said to be concentrating their whole force.

Besides the force said to be encamped above Tsekee, on the Segoan hills, it was also ascertained that another body of five or six thousand men was posted in a fortified camp, about seven miles further along the hills to the north-east, close to what is called the Chungkie Pass, and that the military chest of the army was in charge of this division. A Chinese military chest is generally not very well filled, but still there is to a soldier something very tempting in the idea of an enemy's *military chest*, particularly when there is a prospect of capturing it.

On the morning of the 15th of March, the force destined for the attack, comprising altogether little more than a thousand men, including the battalion of seamen and marines, were embarked

on board the steamers Nemesis, Phlegethon, and Queen, from the north gate of the city; the General and his staff, accompanied by the Admiral and other officers, taking up their quarters on board the Nemesis, which had dexterously been brought close in to a wharf near the city gate; so that on this occasion the troops were embarked without the necessity of using boats. The Naval Brigade was commanded by Capt. Bourchier, of the Blonde, assisted by Capt. P. Richards. There were four 8-pounder guns of the Madras Artillery, for which ponies had been trained, and these were now sent early in the morning from Ningpo by land, escorted by a party of the Madras Rifles; by these means the distance was materially shortened, by cutting off a great bend of the river above Ningpo. On reaching the nearest point, opposite to Tsekee, the artillery swam their horses across the river, and were then drawn up in readiness to advance upon the town, which was about four miles distant. The road to Tsekee and the nature of the country were already well known, from the previous visit in the month of December.

Before twelve o'clock, the troops were landed from the steamers near a village, where there was a sort of jetty convenient for the purpose; they then formed, and marched direct towards the city. At the same time, the Phlegethon was sent higher up the river, together with the Nemesis and two boats belonging to the Cornwallis and Blonde, to endeavour to get near enough to the flank of the Chinese army, to harass them in their retreat.

The Phlegethon started first, because the Admiral and the General, who were on board the Nemesis, were unwilling to land until they had seen all the rest of the force on shore before them. But the moment the Admiral had left the vessel, she was backed out from the landing-place, and went up the river for some distance, stern-foremost, at full speed, until she could be conveniently turned.

Having passed round a considerable bend in the river, some miles above the landing-place, they turned up a small branch or creek, close to a village, which appeared to lead round nearer to the enemy's positions. The Phlegethon, which was some distance ahead, suddenly came upon five gun-boats, armed and manned, at anchor, close to a mandarin station, which proved to have been used as a depôt for powder and military stores. Fourteen fire-rafts were also discovered, and the whole of these warlike preparations were destroyed.

As soon as the troops had marched up pretty close to Tsekee, they proceeded to occupy a small hill directly in front of the town, and commanding the southern gate. A few ginjals and two guns were fired at them from the walls of the city, but at such a

distance as to make it evident that no serious defence of the place was intended. The main body of the Chinese army was to be seen encamped upon the heights to the northward of the town, called the Segoan Hills; and it was equally evident that the shortest and best mode of advancing to attack them was by first escalading the walls of the town, and then marching straight through it to the northern gate, whence it would be easy to attack the enemy both in front and on the flank. It was necessary to ascertain whether the town was occupied by any considerable force (which there was little reason to expect), and at the same time to deprive the enemy of the advantage of falling back upon the town when driven from the heights. Orders were therefore given, that the Naval Brigade, with a party of Sappers, covered by the guns under Colonel Montgomerie, should escalade the walls at the nearest point, while the 49th were to blow open the south gate, and immediately join them upon the ramparts.

The 49th, on approaching the gate, found the bridge over a canal just outside, recently destroyed; but, as the water was shallow, and there appeared to be no likelihood of meeting with any opposition, they quietly crept along the canal itself, which led into the town and so got *under* the walls, upon the ramparts of which they now found the naval brigade already drawn up.

The 18th, in the meantime, had been sent round, outside the walls, to dislodge a body of Chinese troops who occupied a hill a little to the north-east of the city; and they were directed to join the rest of our force as soon as they reached the north gate. The 26th had been held in reserve to protect the guns, and support the 49th, if necessary. The town was, however, carried without any resistance; and, the troops having marched round the ramparts, the whole force was then concentrated at the north gate.

It should here be noticed, that the town of Tsekee lies in a sort of cup, or basin, surrounded almost entirely on three sides by steep hills, being open only towards the river, or to the southward; from the northern hills, a low spur is sent down towards the northern gate, and terminates in a small hill within the walls. The Chinese forces were posted upon these heights, a little to the westward of the spur just described, but in such a position that their left was commanded by other hills. On their right they had a second encampment, a little in advance, on the north-western side of the town; but it was evident that their left could be easily turned, and that they could be defeated and completely routed, without much difficulty.

The General's first movement was to direct the 18th, with the rifles, to proceed to occupy a hill on his right, which could only

be got at by passing through a steep ravine, but which quite commanded the Chinese left. As soon as they succeeded in crowning its summit, and had thus turned the Chinese position, the naval brigade (who, in the meantime, were to occupy two large buildings under the walls, a little on the north-western side of the town) were to carry the hill in their front, on which the Chinese were encamped, while the 49th were at the same time to attack the centre of the Chinese position. It is worthy of remark that the Chinese, with one or two trifling exceptions, seem never to have made use of field-artillery. Of course, where they had forts, they had guns mounted; but they did not appear to regard artillery as a necessary part of a regular army.

On this occasion our loss would probably have been severe, if the heights had been defended by a numerous artillery; but they opened a smart fire of ginjals upon the naval brigade (the Admiral himself being at their head), as they marched across the paddy-fields outside the walls, with the object of occupying two large houses, under the shelter of which they were to form, in readiness for the attack. They suffered some loss; and, as it appeared that the 18th and Rifles, being impeded by the steepness and difficulties of the gorge they had to ascend, were longer in reaching the summit of the hill than had been expected, the General determined to commence the attack in front without waiting for the 18th to turn the flank of the Chinese. The advance sounded, and the 49th, with the General at their head, rushed up the hill; while the Naval Brigade, led by Captains Bourchier and Richards, and Commander Watson (the Admiral himself taking part in the attack), made a dash at the other hill, upon the Chinese right.

Some rockets were fired with great precision into the enemy's position by Lieutenant Fitzjames and Mr. Jackson of the Cornwallis, but the Chinese poured in a heavy fire of ginjals and matchlocks upon our troops as they advanced. The marines and seamen dashed across the paddy-field, and charged up the hill, which was steep and rugged, with great spirit, but were boldly met by the Chinese, who did not shrink from the contest. The leading division soon gained the summit, and the remainder of the brigade pushed round the sides of the hill, to cut off the retreat of the enemy. In this encounter two officers of the Royal Marines and two officers of the naval battalion were wounded; eleven men were also wounded, and three killed. The General, at the head of the 49th, in the meantime carried the hill in his front with great spirit, and detached the grenadiers, under Major Gough, to cut off a body of Chinese who were attempting to get up the rear of the other hill, which had already been carried in front by

the naval brigade. This division of the enemy was, therefore, completely hemmed in, and the slaughter was unavoidably great in the hollow at the foot of the hill.

The 49th now continued to press forward, driving the Chinese before them in great disorder across the plain at the foot of the hills; and the 18th and Rifles, having by this time succeeded in turning the enemy's position on the heights, descended into the plain, and joined the 49th and 26th in the pursuit. The whole Chinese army was now in full flight across the plain, towards the Chungkie Pass, and just passed within range of the Phlegethon and Nemesis, who had taken up an excellent position in the creek, for the purpose of cutting them off. Their guns opened fire upon the scattered fugitives, who suffered severely. From eight hundred to one thousand men are supposed to have been killed, wounded, or drowned, in this engagement; every attempt was made to spare them, but as most of these troops came from distant provinces, and were reputed to be their best soldiers, they refused to surrender, with few exceptions. Many officers or mandarins were killed, but only three were taken prisoners. Many of them deliberately cut their own throats, when they saw that the day was irretrievably lost. Some curious and interesting documents were found, relating to their plans and the disposal of their forces, among which were some public proclamations to be distributed among the people. Upon the bodies of many of the slain, pieces of Sycee silver were found, as had been the case at Ningpo, a few days before.

The strength of the Chinese army was estimated at from seven to eight thousand men, part of which appeared to be a picked body, said to belong to the Emperor's guard; they were fine, athletic, powerful men. It was also remarked that their arms were of a superior kind; several improvements had been adopted; and the bow and arrow, once the favourite weapon of the Tartar soldier, had been laid aside on this occasion. As usual, several personal encounters took place; the Chinese not fearing to engage single-handed with their foe, or to measure their sword with that of our officers. In one of these combats, Mr. Hodgson, mate of the Cornwallis, was wounded, not far from the Admiral. Colonel Mountain was in some danger of being run through, but was saved by a timely shot from one of the 18th. The clothes of the slain were in some instances ignited by their matches, and produced, as on some other occasions, a revolting spectacle. The night was passed, by our gallant little force, in the tents from which the Chinese had been driven, and which were found to contain plenty of warm coverings and provisions. There were stores of rice, and bread (cakes), and flour, in abundance.

Besides the loss already mentioned, the 49th had three officers and four men wounded. Some of our officers were wounded severely, Lieutenant Lane having had his arm amputated upon the field.

On the following morning, at daylight, the grain magazines in the town, belonging to government, were opened to the people, and rapidly emptied. A large quantity of ginjals, matchlocks, and other warlike implements, were collected upon the battle-field, and nearly all destroyed. Among other curiosities were nine newly-invented brass tubes, of about three pounds calibre, and thirty-nine pounds weight, each with two handles; they had never been used, but were apparently intended to fire grape-shot. They were curiously bound round with catgut, and were, probably, to be fired while held between two men, as they were provided with handles for the purpose. One of them was given to Capt. Hall by the Admiral, and has since been deposited, with other Chinese weapons, at Windsor. Twenty-three guns were also captured, principally upon the walls of the town.

As the enemy had retreated towards the Chungkie Pass, about six or seven miles distant to the north-west, where it was reported that another fortified encampment had been formed, Sir Hugh Gough moved in advance, about one o'clock on the following day, the 16th; but, having reached the foot of the hills, the position was found completely abandoned, although it was by nature a strong one. Dispositions were made for the attack, but none of the enemy were discovered, and, consequently, the hoped-for military chest was not captured. The Chinese had only just withdrawn, for they had left behind them some ammunition, and a supply of inferior bread, which is tolerably eatable, however, after a long march. Having halted about two or three hours for rest, and set fire to all the buildings, our little army returned to the town of Tsekee the same evening.

The peasantry, and the inhabitants generally, except where they happened casually to be intermingled with the soldiers during the flight, shewed little concern as to the fate of their countrymen. They appeared to be more astonished than frightened, particularly at the swimming of the horses of the artillery across the river, and then seeing them harnessed to the guns. The town of Tsekee suffered very little. A large pawnbroker's shop was one of the greatest curiosities, being filled with furs, silks, &c. It was a large, extensive building, like a warehouse, as is commonly the case in China, and it afforded excellent quarters.

This engagement upon the heights of Segoan has been considered, by military men, as the most scientifically conducted

affair which occurred during the war. Its success, at all events, was complete; and the Chinese army, which was now concentrated to the southward of Hang-chow-foo, for the purpose of covering the provincial capital, against which we were expected to advance, was said to be with much difficulty kept together, and to be in great want of supplies. The orders of the Emperor, that the province, which was the seat of the war for the time, should defray all its expenses, excited much discontent.

Any proposed plan of advancing upon Hang-chow-foo which might have been thought of was now abandoned, and the great river, the Yangtze-Keang, was designed to be the principal seat of operations during the ensuing campaign. The vast inland trade passing through this main artery of the empire would be stopped; the traffic by the Grand Canal would be at our mercy; and there seemed every reason to expect that the presence of a large military and naval force, in the heart of the country, would lead the haughty Chinese cabinet to listen to terms of peace, which we hoped to dictate under the walls of the ancient Chinese capital, the imperial Nankin, the depository of the ashes of many of the ancient Emperors of China. Some anticipated an advance upon Pekin, the great Tartar capital, by the river Peiho; the result, however, ultimately proved the wisdom of the former plan of operations.

During the months of April and May, a fresh corps of Bengal Volunteers, a remarkably fine body of men, arrived from Calcutta; the 41st and the 2nd native infantry from Madras; with a reinforcement of artillery, and a few horses for the guns. Several steamers and ships of war, with transports, continued to join in succession—namely, the Vixen from England, and the Tenasserim, Auckland, Ariadne, Medusa, and the little Hooghly steamers belonging to the East India Company, from Bombay and Calcutta, all well armed, and some of them peculiarly adapted for river navigation.

The Chinese, finding that they had no success against us in the open field, turned their attention more strongly than ever to their two most notable schemes, of kidnapping our men one by one, and destroying our ships by means of fire rafts. Large rewards continued to be offered for the capture of our high officers; but their successes in this system were confined to the men, some of whom were occasionally carried off, and a few were put to death in the most barbarous and inhuman manner. Indeed, it was not till after the capture of Chapoo (the next engagement to be described) that the Chinese began to treat their prisoners with a little mercy. Towards the close of the war, they were generally pretty well taken care of, for the Chinese could not be insensible

to the kind treatment which their countrymen received when they fell into our hands. I remember being nearly caught once at Chusan, just at the close of the war; and the very next day, an attack was made upon two of our officers, who made an excursion in the same direction, and had a very narrow escape. Capt. Wellesley, R.N., and Ensign Shadwell, of the 55th, were surrounded at less than a mile from the city gate. The latter shot one of the Chinamen in the breast with a pistol, (a *single* pistol is always useless,) but was immediately taken prisoner by the others, who were, probably, soldiers disguised as peasants. His arms were pinioned, and he was dragged along *by the legs*. In the meantime, Capt. Wellesley, instead of firing his pistol, judiciously ran off towards the city gate, to call out the guard; and the moment the Chinese saw them advancing, they threw down their prisoner and decamped.

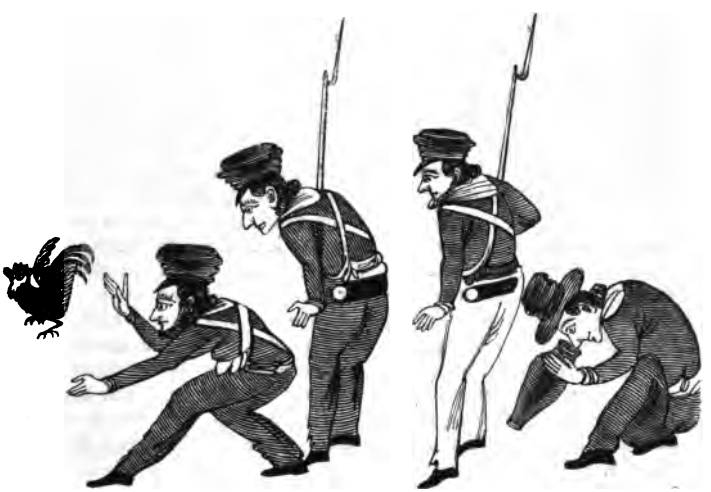
On some occasions, the Chinese kidnappers had the worst of it, and were themselves captured; these were principally sent down to Hong-Kong to work in chains, but some were kept in prison at Chusan. The respectable inhabitants, however, were anxious to bring about a more peaceable state of things, and they declared that the kidnappers were not natives of the island, but people sent over purposely from the mainland. It was evident that some secret influence was at work among the people, and that they still dreaded the power of their own authorities, and were instigated to annoy us.

At length they became better disposed, and then took to the amusement of making caricatures of us. Many spirited things of this sort were hawked about, rudely executed, and strangely coloured, but withal amusing specimens of Chinese drollery. The two annexed sketches, one of an encounter between our soldiers and the Tartars, and the other of an English foraging party, are accurately reduced from the original Chinese caricatures, and shew more evidence of fun and quickness than we should have expected among so grave a people. There were many others equally amusing. At Ningpo they made a sort of little peep-show of the General and his staff, intended to be a correct representation of them in little figures. That of Sir Hugh Gough, with his beautiful long grey locks, was fairly done. A capital full-length picture in oil of the General was afterwards executed at Macao by a Chinese artist, who had been regularly instructed.

The more the Chinese came to mix with us and to be acquainted with our character, the more they seemed to fall into our ways; and we cannot but think that, at no distant period, amicable relations will be established, without difficulty, upon an intimate footing. It has often been remarked, that in many respects they

CHINESE CARICATURES.

TARTAR AND ENGLISH SOLDIERS FIGHTING.



ENGLISH FORAGING PARTY.

steamer's boats were sent out to tow the rafts clear, as they were rapidly bearing down upon her with a strong ebb-tide. They were all in a complete blaze as they drifted past on either side of her; and so close were they, that Captain Hall thought it necessary to wet the decks and the side of the vessel continually, in case they should explode alongside. Her guns continued to fire at them, in order to sink them, if possible.

Other divisions of the fire-rafts, which came down the passages before described, were driven ashore by the boats of the squadron, and blew up, without doing any mischief to our shipping. Altogether, between 50 and 60 of them at least had been sent down from the eastern side of the harbour; but it was reported that another division was to come down by the western side, from the direction of Sing Kong, as soon as the tide turned; a division of boats, under Lieutenant Wise, of the Cornwallis, was therefore sent to endeavour to find them out and destroy them at once. They were soon discovered, to the number of 30, at anchor off a sandy beach, outside of Bell Island, and their destined work of mischief was frustrated.

On the following morning, the Nemesis and Phlegethon steamers were again sent to search through all the adjacent islands; and the Nemesis succeeded in discovering many more fire-boats, which were now destroyed, upon the different islands; stacks of firewood and other combustible materials, which had been collected for the purpose, were likewise set on fire. In one village, there were a number of boats half filled with combustible materials; and the whole village was put into an uproar when the crew of the steamer began to set fire to them. It turned out that they had been pressed into service by the mandarins, and the people naturally wished to save their boats, on which their livelihood depended. Only one poor old woman, however, was permitted to retain her boat, for they might all have been pressed by the mandarins again.

A party of armed seamen and marines were now sent up towards a hill in the rear of the village, along which a number of men had been seen retiring, and amongst them a military mandarin, which made it probable that they were soldiers. The Chinese made a hasty retreat, but the mandarin was observed to try to hide himself behind a tombstone while he pulled off his warm jacket, and nearly all his clothes, and lastly his satin boots, and then giving them to a man who attended him, away he ran for his life down the hill on the opposite side, so that there was no chance of overtaking him.

The Phlegethon had been sent in an opposite direction; but on that side no fire-boats were discovered, notwithstanding the

active exertions of Lieutenant M'Cleverty. Altogether not less than 100 fire-boats were destroyed on these different occasions, besides those which had been previously destroyed by the Nemesis, and the boat of the Clio. How many Chinese lost their lives in the affair it is impossible to say; but many of them must have been drowned in attempting to escape on shore, after the fire-rafts burst into flames. In fact, in all the numerous little sheltered bays among those islands, fire-rafts were destroyed in greater or less numbers.

On one occasion, and without any warning, the Nemesis ran at full speed, and at high water, upon a dangerous conical rock, off the north-eastern extremity of Deer Island, near the southern coast of Chusan, although she had frequently been through the same passage before without having discovered the danger. The tide began to fall almost immediately, so that she was left with her bows high and dry, and her stern deep in the water, while she had seven fathoms close alongside of her. It was a remarkable position for a vessel to be placed in; part of her bottom was completely clear of the rock and the water too, the vessel being only held by its extremities; and when the tide rose, every attempt to haul her off proved ineffectual. A large indentation, or hollow, was supposed to have been made where she rested upon the rock, which of course held her fast.

The only resource Captain Hall thought of, was to try to float her off, by fairly lifting her up, with the help of large casks and junks. The launch and pinnace of the Cornwallis having been sent to her assistance, eight large casks were got out, and boats were sent out to press half-a-dozen of the largest Chinese trading junks to assist in the operation. As soon as they were brought alongside, the vessel was lightened, strong hawsers were passed under her bottom, secured over the bows of three junks placed on either side, and then carried aft round the junk's quarter, and thence led forward and secured round the mast. By these means, as the tide rose, the junks fairly lifted the head of the steamer off the rock, and she was launched into her own element without having sustained any material injury.

From what has been already stated, it will be readily inferred that the navigation of the Chusan islands is intricate, and not unattended with danger. Perhaps the most curious and interesting of all these islands is the consecrated island of Pooto, situated very near the eastern end of Chusan, and only about sixteen miles distant from the town of Tinghai. It is a small, rocky island, broken up into numerous picturesque valleys and romantic glens, the hollows of which are richly cultivated, and abound in trees and aromatic shrubs; while from the steep and rugged heights a

most beautiful prospect presents itself on every side, the waters around it being studded with almost innumerable islands, as far as the eye can reach. But it is most celebrated for its numerous temples, of which there are said to be nearly 400, (but this number is probably exaggerated,) dedicated to the idolatrous worship of Foo or Budha. The whole island is, in fact, a large monastery, divided into many brotherhoods. "All the sumptuous and extensive buildings of this island," says Medhurst, "are intended for no other purpose than to screen wooden images from the sun and rain; and all its inhabitants are employed in no other work than the recitation of unmeaning prayers, and the direction of useless contemplations towards stocks and stones; so that human science and human happiness would not be in the least diminished if the whole of Pooto, with its gaudy temples and lazy priests, were blotted out from the face of the creation." Each of the priests is furnished with a *string of beads*, which he keeps continually fingering: and as he counts them, he repeats the same dull monotonous exclamation, "O-me-to-Fuh." The solid rocks are engraven with Budhist titles, and the whole island is under the spell of the almost talismanic words, "O-me-to-Fuh."

Several of the temples are very extensive and highly ornamented, although they begin to bear the marks of falling greatness. At a distance they look very imposing; but, on nearer inspection, some of them are found to be more or less tumbling to decay; in short, the priests are no longer wealthy, and the visits of superstitious votaries are less numerous than formerly, and consequently the revenues have diminished. There are few places, however, better worth visiting by an inquiring traveller; and three or four days could be spent upon the island with great pleasure and some profit. The temples are gaudily ornamented, and sometimes elegantly planned. You are struck with the succession of shrines, one within the other, the huge gilded statues of Budha, and the monstrous images by which they are surrounded and attended. The temples are generally built in a hollow, or at the bottom of a valley, so that the different shrines or buildings of the principal monasteries rise one above another, being built on the declivity of the mountain, which terminates in the valley. The yellow tiles of some of them indicate former imperial protection. The most picturesque sites have been chosen, and even caverns in the rocks have in some parts been turned into a succession of gilded temples.

There are good causeways leading to every part of the island; on every crag there is either a temple or a little image; the gardens are laid out with extreme care and neatness; and were you not startled by the gross idolatry which surrounds you,

and repelled by the dull, vacant, half-idiotic look of ignorant superstition stamped upon the countenance of every man you meet, you might be almost tempted to believe that it is a rich and happy—a favoured and contented spot. Some of the temples are very striking, and might be called beautiful. In one of them was a very large library for the use of the monks; but, as far as I could judge, the books appeared to have been little, if at all used.

CHAPTER XXX.

At the commencement of the month of May, 1842, it became generally understood, that a movement was very soon to be made upon Chapoo, which was to be followed by the advance of the whole expedition by the Yangtze river. Ningpo, which would consequently be evacuated, is one of the most important trading cities in China; and from its position, and its vicinity to several large and wealthy cities, such as Hang-chow-foo, and others which border upon the Imperial Canal, there is every reason to believe, that an extensive trade will soon be opened there. It lies at the distance of only 50 miles from the commercial town of Chapoo, which possesses a monopoly of the whole trade with Japan and Corea.

On the 7th of May, 1842, the city of Ningpo was given up, as it was impossible to spare a garrison for so large a place. Neither was it any longer necessary to retain possession of it; for the occupation of Chinhae, at the river's mouth, would command the whole trade of the city. Some of the principal inhabitants, merchants, and others,were assembled by Sir Hugh Gough, and into their hands the custody of the city was given over, in the absence of all the constituted authorities. Our evacuation of Ningpo was represented to the Emperor as a great victory gained. The Chinese looked on in apparent astonishment, but there was no shouting or expression of public feeling, and the gates were given over to the persons selected for the purpose, who took possession of them with a party of their followers, very little differing in appearance from the common rabble. Our troops embarked in perfect order on board the Queen, Sesostris, and Phlegethon, and without any irregularity whatever.

The reinforcements which had already arrived in the Chinese waters had not all yet joined the main body to the northward;

in fact, they did not leave Hong-Kong until a month afterwards, but Sir Hugh Gough decided on proceeding to the attack of Chapoo without waiting for them. All the troops, however, which could possibly be spared from Chinhae, Chusan, and Kolingsoo, (Amoy,) small garrisons only being left at each of those places, had been called in, and the transports were, therefore, tolerably crowded. The anchorage close to the small island called Just-in-the-Way, lying nearly midway between Chusan and Chinhae, was the appointed rendezvous for the ships; and owing to various circumstances they were unable to leave it before the 13th (May.)

The whole force which the General had now at his disposal, exclusive of the Naval Brigade, was about 2200 men, including the Artillery and the Gun Lascars, and Sappers and Miners. To this must be added about 110 officers. The force was divided into three columns: the right, composed of the 18th and 49th regiments, each being from 4 to 500 strong, together with a few Sappers and Miners—in all about 920 men and 48 officers—was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Morris. The centre, under Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomerie, (Madras Artillery,) was composed of a small detachment of the Royal Artillery, (25 men only,) with the Madras Artillery and Sappers, and the Madras Rifles (100 men)—in all about 460 men, (including Lascars,) and 15 officers. And the left, composed of the 26th and 55th regiments, (the latter only half the strength of the former,) together with 25 Sappers, in all 820 men, and 230 officers, was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Schoedde.

On the 13th, the ships of war, the Cornwallis, Blonde, Modeste, Columbine, Starling, Algerine, and Plover, with the troop-ship Jupiter, and several transports, got under weigh with a light breeze; they soon passed the hill of Chinae, (the Pelican being at anchor in the river,) and afterwards neared the Teshan islands, and then, hauling up to the westward, made the remarkable hills about Chapoo, and anchored in seven and a half fathoms water, 75 miles from land. Chapoo itself is in reality situated in what may be called an open roadstead (with a shallow dry harbour close to the town) on the northern side of the large deep bay, into which the river which flows down past Hang-chow-foo, called the Tshen-tang river, empties itself. The tides there are remarkably rapid at all times; and on the following day a strong breeze setting in from the north-east with hazy weather, it was impossible to move from the anchorage. The next day there was still no improvement in the appearance of the weather, and it was not until the 16th that a reconnoissance of Chapoo could be made by

the General and Admiral, on board the Phlegethon and Nemesis steamers.

No information, upon which reliance could be placed, had been obtained as to the actual strength of the Chinese force at Chapoo; but the general belief was, either that a very large body of troops would be found there, or that the place would have been abandoned altogether by the enemy, for the purpose of concentrating their forces for the protection of Hang-chow-foo. This question was soon set at rest.

The view of Chapoo and the adjacent hills from the sea, as you approach the coast, is very remarkable. The town and its extensive suburbs are situated near the western extremity of a small promontory, stretching east and west for the distance of between four and five miles. The suburbs, which appear to be the principal resort for merchants and traders, and contain the most wealthy shops, run along the edge of the beach, partly at the foot of the hills which rise on either side, and partly occupying a low flat between them. The actual walled town stands about half a mile in the rear, and the nature and extent of its defences could not be accurately ascertained.

As the steamers were running in, so as to get near enough to observe the nature of the Chinese defences and the works thrown up on the adjacent hills, a large fishing boat was brought-to, to get information, and three of the fishermen, being brought on board the Nemesis, were questioned as to the numbers of Chinese troops, &c., on shore. One of these men stoutly denied that there were any soldiers there at all; but upon a threat that they should all be hanged if they were found to conceal the truth, the other two men declared that there was a large force assembled for the defence of the place.

On a nearer approach, it was observed that there were three principal hills extending along the coast to the eastward of the suburbs for the distance of full three miles, and two or three small islands lying off a little bay at their eastern extremity, and contributing to shelter it, and to make it a good landing-place for our troops. Upon the heights above, several breastworks were thrown up, particularly along the slopes between the hills. Upon the side of the hill nearest to the town were two small batteries, mounting five and seven guns, and upon a low hill in front of the suburbs there was a circular battery of 12 to 14 guns. Along the shore, a little further westward, a masked battery was commenced, but apparently not yet completed. The steamers ran in close enough to be able, with a glass, to observe the mandarins despatching messengers along the heights, upon which a great number of troops were posted, but they did not fire at the

steamers, although they came within range. Indeed, the Chinese seemed disinclined to commence an action, and thus provoke a contest.

The anchorage was completely surveyed by Commanders Kellett and Collinson, who carefully sounded without any interruption along the whole coast at night, thus enabling the Cornwallis, Blonde, Modeste, and the other vessels before named, to take up advantageous positions against the enemy's works, and to cover the landing of the troops, which it was decided should take place in the before-mentioned bay to the eastward. From that point it appeared to the General that the heights could be turned, and the enemy cut off before they could make good their retreat upon the walled city.

At daylight, on the 17th, the whole of the men-of-war and transports got under weigh, and stood in towards Chapoo, with a light breeze from the southward, the Nemesis and Phlegethon leading, and giving the soundings by signal to the Cornwallis, the Algerine having dropped astern, owing to the light wind. At eight, A.M., they came to anchor about four miles off shore, it being nearly calm and high water. The positions had already been assigned to the respective ships, and particularly to the steamers which were to land the troops. The fleet got under weigh again soon after one o'clock, with a fresh breeze from the south-west, and beat in towards the anchorage of Chapoo, which they reached in the evening, when each ship took up its allotted position without any obstacle. The Nemesis anchored close in shore, in three fathoms water, and from her deck every movement of the Chinese could be seen, even without the aid of a glass. The transports were anchored near the islands, off the little bay to the eastward, where the troops were to land, under cover of the Starling, Columbine, Plover, and Algerine. The Cornwallis and Blonde took up positions against the small batteries upon the hill-side next the suburbs, upon the top of which there was a temple, or joss-house, occupied by a large body of the enemy, and the Modeste was placed nearer the suburbs, to act against the works in front. The Nemesis, Phlegethon, and Queen steamers were in the first instance to land the troops from the transports, assisted by the boats, while the Sesostris steamer was anchored in shore, to shell the Chinese as they retreated before our advancing troops.

The sun set clear and brilliant on that evening, the last which many a brave man on both sides was doomed to look upon. The Chinese were on the alert during the night, and brought down some large ginjals, which they planted upon the hill-side, abreast of the Nemesis, but did not make use of them.

At daylight next morning the Nemesis went alongside the transports, to take in the 18th Royal Irish, under Col. Tomlinson, and, having landed them in the appointed bay, returned immediately to fetch part of the 55th, together with the Rifles; the remainder of the 55th with the 26th, 49th, and Artillery, being landed by the Queen and Phlegethon, assisted by the boats of the squadron, the whole under the direction of Commander Charles Richards, of the Cornwallis. Sir Hugh Gough landed with the first or right column from the Nemesis, and at once occupied a height which commanded the landing-place, without meeting with any opposition. As usual, the Chinese had neglected their flanks, as if an enemy could only think of attacking them where they were most prepared to defend themselves.

As soon as the whole of the troops were formed, Col. Schoedde was directed to move with the 26th and 55th regiments, forming the left column, and Col. Montgomerie, with the Artillery and Rifles, forming the centre, as rapidly as possible round the base of the heights, in the rear of which there was a broken valley, leading up in the direction of the walled town, from which, by this means, the retreat of the Chinese would be cut off. Sir Hugh Gough moved with the left column, composed of the 18th and 49th regiments, under Col. Morris, along the crest of the heights, driving the enemy before him from one point to another. As soon as the advance was sounded in that quarter, the ships of war opened fire upon the enemy's right flank near the town, and, after a few rounds, the Chinese fled from their field works, and from the joss-house upon the summit of the hill.

The Nemesis, in the meantime, having united her fire to that of the other ships, was signalized to close the Cornwallis, for the purpose of protecting the landing of the battalion of seamen and marines under Capt. Bourchier, who was accompanied by the Admiral himself, who never shrunk from fatigue or danger, ashore or afloat. The enemy's right flank was now turned, and their principal works were carried before the Chinese had time to spring the mines which they had prepared. The enemy was soon in full flight.

The Sesostris threw some shells upon the Chinese centre, as our troops advanced upon them from their left; but, owing to the rapid movement of the left column round the base of the hills, and the dangerous direction of the line of fire of the steamer, there was at one time more chance of danger to our own men than to the Chinese. The sides of the hills were covered with a great number of tombs, which, together with the broken nature of the ground, afforded shelter and rallying points for the enemy, behind which they occasionally made a stand, and suffered severely

in consequence. Many of the Tartars were even seen deliberately cutting their own throats, as our men were advancing upon them.

But the most terrible scene, and the point at which the greatest loss on our side occurred, was a large house partly enclosed with a wall, situated at the end of a little valley, about a mile from the walls of the town. About three hundred resolute Tartar soldiers, finding their retreat cut off, took refuge in this building, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, expecting no quarter from their enemy. The defence of this large building was no part of their original design; but, as they were driven into it, one after another, without any means of escape, they were forced to defend themselves. The number who might be inside was not at first known; and two small parties of the 18th and 49th, under Lieut. Murray, of the former corps, and Lieut. and Adjutant Browne, of the latter, attempted to follow them in, but were unable to effect an entrance. Of the 49th party, Lieutenants Browne and Mitchell were the only two who escaped untouched. One man was killed, and the rest wounded.

This little check was now reported to Lieut.-Col. Stevens of the 49th, who soon came up. Perceiving that there were a great many of the enemy in the house, and that they were firing from the windows and doors, he ordered our troops to be withdrawn under cover, until the guns were brought up. Col. Tomlinson, of the 18th, having overheard some injudicious remarks which he thought reflected upon him, instantly put himself at the head of a few of his own regiment and of the 49th, and rushed in at the door of the joss-house. Scarcely a second had elapsed when he fell a corpse into the arms of his men, having received two balls in his neck. In fact, every man who attempted to enter was either wounded or killed, as he became exposed to the steady aim of the Tartars in the narrow doorway, the light being full upon him, while the Tartars were themselves concealed from view. The failure of this second attempt to enter the building, added to the exasperation occasioned by the death of Col. Tomlinson, rendered it very difficult to restrain the men from recklessly exposing themselves. Just at this time one 6-pounder gun was brought up by Major Knowles, and some rockets were also thrown into the house, but did not succeed in setting it on fire. The field-piece made very little impression upon the walls; but it was important that the place should be destroyed, and the Tartars captured. In the mean time, it was blockaded by two companies of the 18th Royal Irish.

While this was going on, Sir Hugh Gough had marched on towards the city wall, and was joined there by Sir William Parker

with the Naval Brigade. As soon as the Admiral had landed, Capt. Hall with three of his officers (including the surgeon) and sixteen men, (eight seamen, and eight of the Bombay Artillery,) also landed as volunteers, and, after clearing a hill in their front of some straggling Chinese soldiers, they advanced directly up the hollow, at the extremity of which stood the large building just mentioned. Already Col. Tomlinson was killed, and several other officers wounded; both the rockets and the small field-piece had failed to clear the house of its defenders. Capt. Pears, the field engineer, had also come up, and proposed to endeavour to blow in a portion of the outer wall by means of a bag of powder.

Seeing a small side-door open, Capt. Hall, followed by Lieut. Fitzjames and one of his own men, got close to it, and fired into it, wounding a Tartar mandarin, but it was too hazardous to try to force an entrance; and, as the defenders kept up a smart fire from the windows above, it was necessary to retire under cover. An attempt was then made to set fire to the building, by throwing combustibles in at the principal door; and Capt. Hall rushed in towards it, with a bundle of straw in one hand, and his sword in the other, followed by several of his men and one or two officers. Scarcely had he reached the doorway, when a smart fire was opened from within, by which two of his men were shot dead close by his side, but he himself escaped as if by a miracle.

The bodies were instantly removed to a place of safety, and this attempt failed as the others had done. Three or four of the Tartars now made an attempt to escape, by rushing out of the doorway, and ran the gauntlet of ten or a dozen shots directed at them. They ran for their lives and escaped, although, from the traces of blood, it was thought that more than one of them must have been wounded. Capt. Pears at length got a powder-bag fixed to the northern wall of the building, which blew it in; and a small party of the 18th again attempted to enter it, but one of them being killed, and two wounded, the rest withdrew. In fact, it was so dark inside the building, and the space was so narrow, that it was impossible to make a rush at it.

It was next proposed to set the place on fire, for on one side the upper part of the building appeared to be of wood. Another powder-bag was fixed to that side of the house just below the wood-work, in the hope that it would knock it all down together or else set it on fire. The explosion was so powerful that it not only destroyed part of the wall, but brought down the wood-work above it, and thus many of the Tartars above it became exposed; some were shot, and others succeeded in getting down below. But wherever a Tartar shewed himself at a window in any part

of the building, several muskets were levelled at him; and, on the other hand, so well did the Tartars take aim with their matchlocks, that one of the Royal Irish, who *would* persist in merely peeping round the doorway, "just to see if he couldn't pick off a Tartar," received a shot in his knee just before he had himself time to fire.

The fragments of the wood-work, which had tumbled down, were now collected into a heap by the sappers, and set on fire, which soon communicated to the rest of the building. Gradually, as it spread, the matchlocks of the Tartars (probably of the fallen) were heard to go off, and loud cries were uttered. The rest of the defenders must evidently surrender; and, on entering the door-way, the poor fellows could now be seen stripping off their clothes to avoid the flames, and running about in despair from one side to the other. About fifty were taken prisoners, but two or three who tried to escape, were shot; and so exasperated were the 18th at the loss of their Colonel and some of their comrades, that it was not without difficulty they were prevented from putting several of the prisoners to death. These were now tied together by their tails, in parties of eight or ten, so that they could not run away all together: and they were marched off, under an escort, to the walled town which had already been taken possession of.

The walls had been scaled near the east gate, by the grenadiers of the 55th, without opposition; and the other gates were soon occupied by passing round the ramparts. There were few guns, or even ginjals, mounted on them; and the Chinese, having been once driven from the heights, and cut off from the city, were dispersed all over the country, a large body of them taking the direction of Hang-chow-foo. Between Chapoo and that city there is a good canal communication, supposed to be connected with the Grand Canal itself; and, in addition to that, the communication by land, along a good causeway, broad enough for artillery, gave many facilities for an immediate advance upon the capital. It was said also, that a curious Chinese map of the road, and of the adjacent country had been obtained; but, with so small a force, it was not thought advisable to march further inland.

If the loss of the Chinese was great on this day, so was it on our side much greater than on any previous occasion. The high spirit of the Tartar soldiers, the descendants of the conquerors of China, and soldiers by birthright, could not brook a total defeat; and, when they were further stimulated by the excitement of opium, their self-devotion and stubbornness tended to increase their loss. When they could no longer fight, they could die; and the instances of mad self-destruction, both within the city and

without, were truly horrible. Many of the Tartars were with difficulty prevented from cutting their throats, which they attempted to do with apparent indifference. On visiting the large building, or joss-house, which had resisted so long, and had cost so many lives, a number of dead and wounded men were found huddled together in a horrible manner, in one of the out-buildings attached to it. The ruins of the house were still smoking, and Captain Hall's object was to drag out the wounded and put them under cover until they could be properly attended to, for, on all occasions, the Chinese wounded received every attention that could be shewn them from our medical officers. Just as the men began to move aside the dead bodies, a Tartar soldier, who had until now concealed himself among them, literally rising from the dead, stood up suddenly and drew his sword. But, instead of making a dash for his life, or giving himself up as a prisoner, he began deliberately to hack his own throat with the rusty weapon, and inflicted two wounds upon himself before his hand could be stopped. Another man was found concealed in a deep hollow in the earth, where there was a sort of oven, and could not be got out until some men were sent to dig him out, and he was then found to be wounded. Altogether, the scene at this house was quite enough by itself to sicken any man with the horrors of war. Many of the wounded were dreadfully mutilated, and the dead bodies were charred and disfigured.

A large building in the city was specially set apart for the Chinese wounded, and the great kindness and attention they received at Chapoo produced important effects upon the authorities, and induced them to treat our prisoners afterwards with kindness, instead of torturing them to death, as had frequently been the case. The veteran Elepoo, who was, in fact at that time governor of Chapoo, (having been partially restored to favour by the Emperor,) expressly thanked the General and the Admiral for their humanity, in a letter written about a month afterwards. "On inquiry," said he, "I found that you gave the hungry rice to eat, and allowed to the wounded medical attendance, and we feel obliged for your kindness and courtesy." Too much praise cannot be given to the superintending surgeon, Dr. French, and the other medical officers, for their constant attention to the Chinese wounded, whenever they had an opportunity. Occasionally, however, the Chinese refused all assistance.

Among the Tartar population, who were here for the first time met with living entirely separate from the Chinese, and preserving their own habits and privileges, it is admitted by all that the most shocking scenes were witnessed; and the similar barbarities which were afterwards observed at the Tartar city of Chin-keang-

foo confirm all that has been said of the cruel and revolting practices of that remarkable people in time of war. All accounts concur in giving their testimony to the fact of the self-destruction of whole Tartar families; the women destroying their children, drowning them in wells, and throwing themselves in afterwards; the husbands hanging and poisoning their wives, and deliberately cutting their own throats. Every effort was made to put a stop to these barbarities, and all means were used to pacify and soothe the people; but as the greater part of the Tartar population had abandoned the Tartar portion of the city, the Chinese rabble set about plundering it, and frightened the few who remained, even more than our troops.

The Tartar town, which was separated from the other by a wall enclosing about one-fourth of the space within the city, presented its peculiar aspect. The houses were disposed something after the manner of tents in an encampment, one of the last traces of the wandering pastoral habits of the race; to each hut was attached a small bit of open ground, with a bamboo fence round it, and a few trees within; and the vine was not unfrequently seen twining itself among the bamboos. Their scanty furniture was more rude than that of the Chinese; and the bow, with its quiver full of arrows, the spear, the sword, and the matchlock, seemed to be the most cherished ornaments of their abode. *They* alone are permitted to retain their weapons in their own charge. Indeed, the Tartar here lives as a conqueror, and glories in the emblems of conquest which he still has around him. In other respects, they are all subject to the same laws, and wear the same dress, but differ a good deal in their countenance and expression. Commonly the Tartars are a fairer people than the Chinese, and some of them much resemble Europeans.

It is worthy of remark, that the conquerors imposed upon the conquered the practice of shaving the head, excepting the back part, with its long tail; but they themselves took care never to adopt the absurd Chinese custom of preventing the growth of the female foot, and even deforming it, in such a way as to render it nearly useless to its owner. From the Emperor's court to the lowest soldier's wife, no Tartar woman ever has her foot tortured into deformity. At Chusan, I remember seeing a Tartar woman walking about with her natural undeformed feet, and she was looked at as a curiosity by the Chinese inhabitants, who stared and smiled as if they thought it a strange piece of barbarism.

The attention of children to their parents, for which the Chinese as well as Tartars are remarkable, was shewn in many instances, even amid the trials of war, at Chapoo. The aged and infirm were of course unable to fly from the city, and many of

these were found in the Tartar houses, carefully tended by their daughters, who stayed behind and braved the expected horrors of an enemy's approach, rather than abandon an aged parent. There were some touching scenes of this kind, and when they found that they were not treated harshly, their fears, which at first were distressing, gradually disappeared.

The country about Chapoo is perhaps one of the richest and most beautifully cultivated spots in the world. It resembles in some respect, the prettiest parts of Devonshire. The low hills immediately adjoining the town—the rich, luxuriant, well-watered plain beyond, interspersed with numerous hamlets and villages, with their curiously-shaped blue-tiled roofs, and intersected by canals and causeways, formed a very attractive panorama, and served to indicate the means by which so dense a population is supported. But even there the horrors of war were still to be traced; dead bodies floating along the canals, (probably of wounded who had been carried away and had died,) parties of Chinese plunderers, hastening across the country, laden with every kind of property, and, perhaps, occasionally, a little quiet European foraging party, hunting out ducks, and fowls, and pigs, for which, however, the peasants were generally very well paid.

It was not the object of Sir Hugh Gough to occupy the city longer than was necessary for the purpose of destroying the arsenals, and property belonging to the government, including, of course, the iron guns, ginjals, &c. The brass ones, some of which were very good, were sent over to Chusan. Several horses, or rather ponies, which had belonged to mandarins, were captured by our officers, and one of these, a stout grey, was carried up to Calcutta in the Nemesis, after the war was over.

The number of Chinese engaged at Chapoo has been estimated at between 7000 and 8000 men, of whom about one-fourth were Tartars. It is difficult to estimate the number of their killed and wounded, but it must have been very great; it has been stated that nearly one-sixth of them suffered more or less. On our side, two officers, one sergeant, and ten men were killed, including three of the Naval Brigade, of which two belonged to the Nemesis; six officers, one sergeant, and about 45 men were wounded, many of them severely. The following were the names of the officers killed and wounded: Killed—Lieutenant-Colonel Tomlinson, 18th Royal Irish, and Captain Colin Campbell, 55th regiment, died two or three days afterwards, from a severe wound in the head. Wounded—Staff, Lieutenant-Colonel Mountain, C.B., Deputy-Adjutant-General, severely, (three balls in his back;) Lieutenant A. E. Jodrell, 18th; Lieutenant A. Murray, 18th; Captain T. S. Reynolds, 49th; Lieutenant and Adjutant

W. P. K. Browne, 49th; and Lieutenant J. G. Johnstone, Madras Sappers and Miners.

There were 10 brass guns taken, together with 82 iron ones, and a number of ginjals, &c.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE results of the capture of Chapoo, and of the total defeat of the best troops the Chinese had yet brought against us, were very remarkable. On the one hand, the people more than ever dreaded our power, while they also wondered at our forbearance; and, on the other hand, the tone of the government began evidently to change, and overtures were now made (probably with a view to gain time) to induce our military and naval commanders-in-chief to suspend hostilities. Advances of a similar kind had been made at Chinhae, but did not appear to be founded on sufficient authority to permit them to be entertained. They were renewed at Chapoo, but in an equally unsatisfactory manner, and the agent of the Chinese on both occasions, and also on subsequent ones, was a mandarin of low degree, the very sending of whom was sufficient to point out that their object was merely to sound our disposition and blind our credulity.

At Hang-chow-foo the people were so much alarmed that they openly expressed their dissatisfaction to the High Imperial Commissioner Yih-king, who was also generalissimo of the forces, a member of the imperial cabinet, and a relation of the Emperor. But above all, the generous treatment of the Chinese prisoners by the orders of Sir Hugh Gough, the attention shewn to their wounded, and their being at last all given up before our forces left Chapoo, *each of them receiving a present of money*, (about three dollars each man,) all these humane proceedings together produced a most powerful impression upon all classes of the Chinese.

When the Chinese prisoners were sent back from Chapoo, a letter was at the same time addressed to Elepoo,* in reply to the

* At this time, the venerable and high-minded Elepoo, who was Lieutenant-General of Chapoo, was partially restored to favour by the Emperor, after being disgraced and deprived of the government of the two Keang provinces, which he formerly held. This is the same officer, who, when he was sent down as Imperial Commissioner to the province of Chekeang, for the purpose of "*arranging* affairs with the barbarians," nobly gave up all our prisoners, including Captain Anstruther, Lieutenant Douglas, and Mrs. Noble; but was disgraced and punished by the Emperor.

overtures which had been made. It was to the effect, "that hostilities could not be suspended until the Chinese government were disposed to negotiate on the terms offered by the British government, through the medium of her majesty's Plenipotentiary, who was then daily expected at Chusan."

Elepoo was determined not to be outdone in courtesy, and before our fleet entered the Yangtze river, he sent a very important and remarkable letter, addressed to our commanders-in-chief, styling them the "Honourable General and Admiral." He talked a great deal about good faith and sincerity, and thanked them for sending back the prisoners, and for the attention and kindness shewn to the wounded. He proceeded to inform them, that he had in return sent back all *our* prisoners to Chapoo, who had been previously kept at Hang-chow-foo; but that on their arrival there, it was found that the fleet had already sailed, in consequence of which they were obliged to be taken back. He further added, "that he was desirous to negotiate and make arrangements, in order to protect *the lives of both countries.*"

Neither the prisoners nor the letter were, however, received till some time afterwards. By Elepoo's orders, 30 dollars were afterwards paid to every white man, and 15 dollars to every native of India, or, as they call them, to every "black man;" thereby marking their sense of the distinction between them. Altogether, there were 16 prisoners restored by the Chinese, two of whom belonged to the Nemesis, one being an English seaman, the other a negro lad, who had been a slave at Macao, but escaped; and being taken on board by Captain Hall, turned out a very smart, useful lad. They had been kidnapped at Chusan, and thence carried over to the mainland.

After having been brought back to Hang-chow-foo, from Chapoo, the prisoners remained there five days, and were well fed and taken care of. They were then put into sedan chairs, and carried through the whole Chinese army encamped to the southward of that city. The camp appeared to be of immense extent, and full of soldiers, who crowded round the sedan chairs with eager curiosity, but without attempting to offer any violence. They appeared particularly amused at the appearance of the black men. It was remarked, that about one in ten of the soldiers was armed with a matchlock, the rest having only spears, swords, and bows and arrows, the latter of which they seemed to be most proud of. The risk they ran of having their clothes set on fire by the match, particularly when wounded, or by the ignition of the powder, always made them more or less afraid of arming themselves with the matchlock.

After travelling for several days, partly in sedans and partly

along canals, during which they passed a large town, called Chow-king, apparently as large as the capital itself, the prisoners arrived on the 11th of June, at Yuyow, whence they were conveyed to Ningpo, and after a very short halt, proceeded down the river to Chinghai, where they were most joyfully received on board H.M. brig Pelican, by Capt. Napier.

Communications subsequently took place between Elepoo and our military and naval commanders-in-chief. In one of these Elepoo says, that he is surprised to learn that the fleet of our "*honourable country* had sailed up the Woosung river, firing guns, and stirring up a quarrel;" and then expresses his regret that the war had already lasted so long, and that many lives had been lost, and unspeakable misery produced. "Is it not far better to enjoy the blessings of peace, than to fight for successive years, and to fill the land with the bodies of the slain?" This, however, was merely an attempt to lull the activity of our commanders, and to delay their measures by pretence of negotiation.

The reply of Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Wm. Parker was characteristic—namely, "that they were thankful to Elepoo for having sent back the British subjects who were prisoners, and assured him that they gladly recognised in this act the good feeling which should always subsist between civilized nations. In respect to the other letter, they added that, with the utmost desire to lessen the calamities of war, it was their duty to proceed with hostilities until they were assured that a functionary, *duly authorized* by his Imperial Majesty, should be prepared to negotiate a peace, and to meet those just demands which had been repeatedly submitted to his Imperial Majesty. With every respect for his exalted position and acknowledged probity, the high British officers must remind his excellency, that they have not yet been apprized that he is *authorized to treat* on the conditions promulgated by the British government."

The high tone of these letters must have rather surprised both the veteran Elepoo and the imperial cabinet. They had been so long accustomed to communicate with foreigners only through inferior agents, that they could hardly bring themselves on a sudden to adopt the practice of conducting negotiations upon a footing of perfect equality. The ingenious expedient was, therefore, resorted to of sending to Canton to order up some of the Hong merchants to act as mediators. The aged Howqua excused himself on account of his infirmities, but sent his only surviving son in his place, accompanied by Samqua, another Hong merchant of repute, and two linguists.

The journey from Canton to the province of Chekeang, or rather to that part of it in which their services might be required,

Hang-chow-foo, or Soo-chow-foo, a distance of upwards of six hundred geographical miles, was no pleasing task in the middle of summer, particularly in a country where the only mode of travelling is in sedan chairs. However, they were compelled to go, but were speedily sent back again, without having been permitted to hold any communication whatever with any of our high officers. Indeed, Sir Henry Pottinger had long before so positively refused to receive both the Hong merchants and the Prefect of Canton, that it is surprising how any further expectation could have been formed that their services would be required. While speaking of the Hong merchants, it is worth mentioning, that about this time notice was sent by the aged Howqua to the foreign residents at Canton, that there was reason to believe that some of the wells had been poisoned, and that there were venders of poisoned provisions about the streets. If this report was true, the diabolical purpose was thus frustrated, and no bad results followed.

We must now return to the operations of our forces, subsequently to the capture of Chapoo. Fortunately the health of the troops had been good during their ten days' stay on shore, so that nearly the whole force was in a condition to take part in the projected operations in the Yangtze river. Lieut.-Col. Tomlinson, whose death was so much lamented by all his brother officers, was buried at sea soon after Chapoo was taken, being carried out in the Phlegethon, as it was feared that, if a grave were dug for him on shore, his remains might be taken up by the Chinese, and a great boast made of their having killed one of the high English officers.

On the 27th of May, a great part of the troops were embarked on board the different transports, and the remainder on the following morning, when the whole fleet got under weigh. On the 29th, they anchored in a safe and extensive sound, which had been discovered by Captains Kellett and Collinson, at the Rugged Islands, about forty miles to the eastward of Chapoo. Some days were spent at this anchorage, in order that a proper channel into the Yangtze river for large vessels might be carefully examined. During this interval, the Admiral took an opportunity of revisiting Chusan, in the H. C. steamer Pluto, which had just arrived from England, together with the small iron steamer Ariadne, from Bombay.

On the 5th of June, the whole fleet stood up towards the entrance of the river, but their progress was much delayed by the great strength of the tides, and also by fogs, so that they did not reach the appointed rendezvous off the Amherst rocks, (a little to the eastward of the mouth of the river,) until the 8th, having

always been obliged to anchor at night. A further delay now occurred, while the Modeste, with the Nemesis and Pluto steamers were detached to intercept the communications up the river, and to reconnoitre the defences of Woosung. A large fleet of trading junks was soon espied near the latter place, and Capt. Hall was ordered to give chase, and bring them to. He very soon got ahead of them, and cut them off, obliging them to anchor immediately. Some, however, persisted in holding their course until several shots had been fired across their bows. The junk-men appeared terribly frightened, although Mr. Gutzlaff, who was on board the Nemesis, assured them that they would receive no injury, and be allowed to depart as soon as their cargoes had been examined.

A great number of junks were found laden with the most beautiful fish, very carefully packed in ice, probably destined for Nankin, and for places along the imperial canal; but it is remarkable that none of these cargoes were fallen in with afterwards, higher up the river; which tended to prove that there were innumerable canals by which they could convey their produce into the interior, without proceeding up the main river beyond a certain point, thereby avoiding the delays occasioned by the currents, and the dangers of the navigation. This excellent opportunity of getting well supplied with fish and ice was not allowed to pass unheeded, but none of the junks were detained beyond a few hours. *One* junk, however, was always kept back until another made its appearance; but, as it was impossible for strangers to distinguish at a distance the *kind* of junks which were loaded with such a welcome cargo, every captain was made to understand that he would have to supply fish and ice for the use of the steamer, until he could point out another junk coming up the river with a similar cargo, which was then to take his place, and he was to be liberated. In this way one continued to succeed the other. This hint was quite sufficient to put the fellows in excellent humour. It was curious to observe what a sharp look out they kept, frequently climbing up to the mast-head to see if their longed-for substitute was approaching. The one who last arrived soon reconciled himself to this fate very good-naturedly, when informed by his predecessor that no great harm would be done to him. They all, however, seemed very glad to get away the moment permission was given, and refused all kind of payment when offered. Fresh fish of the best quality, and plenty of ice to cool the wine and beer, were unexpected luxuries.

At Woosung, Capt. Watson, with the Modeste, which was anchored just out of range of the batteries, was occupied for several days in sounding the channel, and was assisted in this

duty by the Pluto, under Lieut. Tudor. They were ordered to reconnoitre the mouth of the Woosung river, (which empties itself into the Yangtze, about twenty-five miles up its southern branch,) preparatory to the grand attack upon the batteries.

The night of the 11th of June was particularly dark and rainy; and the opportunity appeared singularly favourable for making a close reconnoissance of the batteries. The Modeste lay some way off shore, and the tide was running so strong that it was impossible for Capt. Hall, who had anchored the Nemesis much nearer in, to communicate with his senior officer, concerning the plan which he proposed for reconnoitring the batteries. About two hours before midnight the cutter of the Nemesis was ordered away, manned and armed, to make a close examination of the batteries, and of the channel leading into the Woosung river, which the former were principally designed to protect.

Having carefully sounded the channel, Capt. Hall pushed in as quietly as possible towards the front of the batteries; and, being favoured by the boisterous weather, he landed on the beach without being discovered. He could now distinguish the Chinese sentry quite near him; and on looking through one of the embrasures he could see one of the military mandarins on duty, going his rounds along the battery, attended by two armed soldiers, one of whom carried a large paper lantern before him, which threw a strong light in his face, and prevented him of course from seeing objects, even at a very short distance from him. It was evident, therefore, that the Chinese were upon the alert; though it would have been very easy, with the help of the boat's crew, to have made prisoners both of the mandarin and two soldiers, before the alarm could have been given.

After three hours' examination, and a heavy pull against the rapid current which prevails there, Capt. Hall got back to his vessel; and on the following day she rejoined the Admiral off the Amherst rocks. It was about this time that the little Ariadne steamer, having been sent to ascertain the exact position of a rock lying off the mouth of the Yangtze, ran directly upon it and was bilged. A sail was immediately passed under her bottom, to cover the leak, and she was towed by the Sesostris into Chusan harbour, where, owing to some unforeseen accident, she afterwards went down in deep water, and all attempts to get her up again failed.

On the 13th, Sir William Parker, in the Cornwallis, accompanied by the Blonde, Columbine, Jupiter, troop ship, and the Phlegethon, Tenasserim, and Medusa steamers, together with twelve transports, got under weigh from the anchorage off Amherst rocks, and succeeded in reaching the mouth of the Woo-

sung river, without any accident whatever. The Clio, Bentinck, (since called Plover,) Starling, and two transports, had been stationed as beacon-vessels, to mark the proper channel, which, however, was so shallow, that for a part of the distance there was little more water (only a few feet) than the actual draught of the Cornwallis.

On the following day, the Admiral and the General proceeded in the Medusa steamer, the smallest which was under his command since the loss of the Ariadne, and jocularly christened the Pilot Fish, to make a close reconnoissance of the whole line of defences extending along both sides of the Woosung river. It is here necessary to bear in mind the relative position of the Woosung river, in respect to the Yangtze, in order to avoid confusion in reading the account of the operations. The former empties itself into the latter on its right bank, and the village or small town of Woosung, which contains nearly 500 houses, stands at its mouth. This place was visited by Mr. Medhurst, during his missionary tour up the coast of China in 1835, and the people were there found to be remarkably civil and well disposed.

The breadth of the river at its entrance may be about a mile, but the channel for vessels of moderate burden is somewhat intricate, and scarcely more than 300 yards wide. The course of the river runs nearly north and south, and, as it joins the great Yangtze, its banks gradually widen, until they are soon lost in those of the larger river. The principal line of defence was situated along its western bank, running from the upper end of the village of Woosung for a distance of full three miles along the river's mouth, and curving gradually round towards the banks of Yangtze river.

The town of Paoushan is situated nearly two miles in the rear of the batteries at that end. This long line of embrasures mounted not less than 134 guns; but they were generally a great deal too wide, and the battery was constructed of earth, very much like the works already described at Chusan. Stakes were driven in along the front to protect it from the sudden landing of troops, and probably to secure the banks from the effects of inundations. Just above the village of Woosung, and skirting it on its southern side, was a large creek or canal, communicating with the river, and protected by a strong semicircular stone battery, regularly built and mounting 10 brass 24-pounder guns. From its position, it served to defend the river itself, for it commanded the whole reach, as well as the mouth of the creek.

On the eastern side of the river, opposite Woosung, stood a strong fort, principally built of brick, nearly of a circular form, and from its elevation calculated to have a long range. It was

flanked by a line of embankments, with embrasures, not yet completed, but mounting altogether 21 guns. There were 175 guns mounted for the defence of Woosung. But it was not the number of guns which constituted the strength of its defences. At this point had been collected the choicest Tartar troops, who were prepared to defend it obstinately. They worked their guns with great spirit, and kept up a better sustained fire than they had done on any previous occasion; and when their principal line of battery was turned by the movement of a body of seamen and marines upon their flank, they defended themselves with remarkable obstinacy and courage, and did not hesitate to measure the sword with the cutlass, or to cross the spear with the bayonet.

There was some difficulty in finding a spot where troops could be disembarked with a view to turn the position, for the water shoaled to three feet within 200 yards of the banks, and the disembarkation could only be effected under cover of the guns of our ships.

On the morning of the 16th, both the tide and the state of the weather being favourable, the Admiral determined that the attack should be made without further delay, and ordered that the ships should be towed into action by the steamers, so that they would be enabled to take up the precise positions allotted to them. There were five steamers ready for the service, besides the little Medusa, which was reserved to meet any unforeseen contingency. It was the first action in which the ships of war were *all* towed into their appointed stations. The little Algerine was the only exception, as she was directed to get in as near as possible under sail. Even the North Star, Captain Sir E. Holme, which only came in sight just as the action already commenced, was towed in by the Tenasserim, which, after placing the Blonde in her proper position, was sent out on purpose to fetch her.

The Cornwallis and Blonde, being the two heaviest ships, were to take up their positions in front of the batteries, just below the village of Woosung, and the light squadron was then to pass them and proceed up the river to attack the village and the battery at the mouth of the creek above it, and also the circular battery on the opposite or east side of the river. The light squadron consisted of the Modeste, Columbine, and Clio, towed respectively by the Nemesis, Phlegethon, and Pluto. The channel had been buoyed off the previous night, and two junks had been moored so as to mark the entrance, on the eastern side of which there ran out a long sand-bank.

At the dawn of day on the 16th all the ships of war got under weigh, and by six o'clock they were in tow of their respective steamers. In this instance, and indeed throughout all the opera-

tions in the north of China, under Sir William Parker, the steamers were always lashed *alongside* the vessels they had to tow, instead of going ahead. This plan was found to answer remarkably well in the intricate navigation of the Yangtze river, as the movement of both vessels were more easily managed. The Blonde, towed by the Tenasserim, led in towards the batteries; the Cornwallis followed, bearing the Admiral's flag, and lashed alongside of the Sesostris. This post of honour was assigned to the Blonde, because, as soon as the light squadron had passed up the Woosung, she would have been nearer at hand to support them if necessary.

The Blonde and Cornwallis received the fire of the Chinese, which was opened with great spirit, without returning a shot, until they had anchored by the stern in excellent positions. The light squadron then passed them, except the little Algerine, which could not follow the rest under sail, and therefore brought up a little astern of the Admiral's ship.

The Modeste, under Captain Watson, who commanded the light squadron, was towed by the Nemesis up the river in gallant style, boldly entering in towards the creek above the village of Woosung, and receiving a severe and well-directed fire from the whole line of batteries, but more particularly from the battery of ten brass guns situated at the corner of the creek, the approach to which, as before described, it commanded. Both of these vessels suffered a good deal in executing this bold manœuvre; aud in order to shelter the men, they were all ordered by Captain Hall to lie down at quarters on board the Nemesis, until the Modeste had been placed in a good position. The fire of the Chinese was severe and well directed, and the Nemesis, as well as the Modeste, suffered a good deal in her rigging and hull, had two boats shot to pieces and two men wounded, one dangerously.

Some way further up the river, fourteen war-junks were in sight, and also five large newly-built wheel-boats, each moved by *four wooden paddle-wheels*. These vessels also opened fire, but at such a distance that their shot fell short. The Columbine, towed by the Phlegethon, and the Clio by the Pluto, followed their gallant leader up the river towards the creek.

In the mean time the North Star was observed coming up towards the mouth of the river, and the Tenasserim steamer, which had just cast off the Blonde, was sent out to tow her into action, and she was placed just ahead of the Blonde.

Captain Hall cast off the Modeste as soon as he had carried her up to the mouth of the creek, and within musket-shot of the 10-gun battery, and then opened fire with his foremost gun upon

Battle of Woosung.

From an Original Drawing by Capt Watson, R.N. C.B.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

the war-junks, and with his after-gun upon the battery itself. The junks returned the fire as the Nemesis advanced towards them, but the moment she came within range of grape and canister, the Chinese Commodore or Admiral set the example of running away, which all the rest were glad enough to follow. They now made for the shore in the best way they could, each trying which could reach it the quickest, but the wheel-boats had a decided advantage, and were moved through the water at the rate of about three and a half knots an hour. Grape and canister were now poured into them as fast as the guns could be loaded. The confusion among the Chinese sailors was great: some took to their boats or sampans, others jumped overboard and tried to swim ashore, and a few of these must have been drowned.

The wheel-boats were, as a matter of curiosity, the first boarded, and it was afterwards ascertained that they were each commanded by a mandarin of high rank: which marks the importance they attached to them. These wheel-junks were fitted with two paddle-wheels on either side, strongly constructed of wood. The shaft, which was also of wood, had a number of strong wooden cogs upon it, and was turned by means of a capstan, fitted also with cogs, and worked round by men. The machinery was all below, between decks, so that the men were under cover. They were all quite newly-built, and carried some two, some three, newly-cast brass guns, besides a number of large ginjals. A quantity of matchlocks, spears, swords, &c., were also found on board.

In pursuing two of the largest junks too close in shore, the Nemesis took the ground when the tide was falling. The Phlegethon came up at this time, and tried to tow her off, but without success, and she, therefore, stuck fast for some hours. But the boats were sent away, by Capt. Hall, manned and armed under Mr. Galbraith, with orders to capture and destroy the rest of the junks which were floating about the river, deserted by their crews. Other boats were sent to destroy those which had been run ashore, but it was seen from the mast-head that the Chinese were lying in wait to cut them off among the scattered trees and buildings by the river side; and they were, therefore, ordered not to go out of gun-shot from the steamer. The Phlegethon, under Lieut. M'Cleverty, took part in the destruction of the junks, and out of the whole fleet, only two war-junks escaped. Three wheel-boats and one junk were afterwards towed down the river to the fleet, but the rest were set on fire and destroyed.

To return to the advanced squadron. As soon as the Modeste was cast off from the Nemesis, sail was made, and she was carried alongside a wharf or small jetty within the creek, close to the

village of Woosung. The ten-gun battery opposite kept up her fire upon her, but, under cover of a broadside, the Modeste was made fast to the jetty. In this position she soon silenced the fort with her larboard-guns and small arms, and received little damage from the fire of the enemy, because they could not depress their guns enough to bear upon her with effect, so close was she. The pinnace was now sent ashore, manned and armed, to take possession of the fort, and there was some skirmishing with the rear-guard of the Chinese who were retreating. Lt. Birch, with a party of seamen, were at the same time ordered to spike the guns; and at this moment the Columbine, followed by the Pluto steamer, came up, and poured in a well-directed fire upon the column of the retreating enemy.

During all this time, the Cornwallis, Blonde, and North Star were hotly engaged with the batteries, abreast of which they were anchored, and soon made the Chinese slacken their fire. Perceiving this, Capt. Watson determined to land, with the marines and small-arm men of the Modeste, Columbine, and Clio, within the creek, in the hope of being able to turn the enemy's flank next the village, and also to cut off their retreat. A body of the Chinese was observed lying down under cover of the embankment, apparently in readiness to meet their enemy. Capt. Watson now formed his men, and gallantly dashed on towards the Chinese, but had to cross a deep canal, over which there were several small wooden bridges, in the rear of the works.

The Chinese received them with a heavy fire of matchlocks and ginjals, but gradually retreated as Capt Watson advanced, and fell back upon their main body, who showed a most determined front, and deliberately planted their ginjals directly in the only path by which they could be approached. Capt. Watson had already ten of his men wounded; and, finding his party getting a little straggled, he drew them outside of the line of embankment in order to form them again. The Chinese now came boldly out, brandishing their spears in defiance; and threw a volley of hand grenades, which went over their heads.

At this moment Capt. Bourchier, seeing Capt. Watson's party hotly engaged with the Chinese, who were much their superiors in numbers, landed from the Blonde, directly in front of the battery; and at the same moment Capt Watson's party made a rush at the enemy, who stood their ground so firmly, that for the second time the spear and the bayonet were crossed, and no one who witnessed the obstinacy and determination with which the Chinese defended themselves could refuse them full credit for personal bravery. They were now driven back under cover of some houses, where they rallied. By this time the marines and seamen

of the Blonde and Cornwallis were landed nearly opposite to those vessels, under Captains Bourchier, Richards, and Sir Everard Home, and joined Capt. Watson. Sir William Parker also landed; and, as soon as the men were all formed, they succeeded in driving the enemy out of the whole line of batteries. A small party from the Algerine, under Lieut. Maitland, boldly landed before they could be well supported, and were a little cut up. The Sesostris in the meantime had been closely engaged with the strong fort on the eastern side of the entrance of the river, where she took the ground in such a position that she was able to bring her guns to bear, so as soon to silence the enemy, when Capt. Ormsby landed at the head of a body of small-arm men from the Sesostris and Tenasserim, and took possession of the fort.

The troops were not landed in time to take any part in the engagement, for most of the steamers had taken the ground, and it was not until past twelve o'clock that there were any means of putting the troops ashore. Sir Hugh Gough then landed just opposite to the Cornwallis, and determined to advance immediately upon the town of Paoushan in the rear, towards which it was understood a large body of the Chinese had fled, together with the governor of the province. Maj.-Gen. Schoedde was now ordered to move forward, so as to get in the rear of the town, in hopes of cutting off the enemy who might be retreating in that direction; while Sir Hugh Gough, with the rest of the troops, reinforced by the Naval Brigade, moved along the river batteries. On reaching Paoushan, it was found already in the possession of Major-Gen. Schoedde's brigade, which had entered it without opposition; the soldiers and a great part of the inhabitants flying out of it in great consternation. The walls of the town were not found to be in very good repair, but they mounted about fifty guns, of which seventeen were brass. The main body of the Chinese were ascertained to have fled in the direction of Soochow-foo.

The number of killed and wounded, on the Chinese side, was less than might have been expected, probably not exceeding altogether a couple of hundred; but among them was the commander-in-chief of the Chinese troops. On our side, one officer (Lieutenant Hewitt, R.M.) and one seaman, were killed; and among the wounded were Mr. Purvis, midshipman of the Blonde; Mr. A. J. Smith, mate, and Mr. Roberts, master of the Sesostris; together with fifteen seamen, one corporal, and five royal marines, and one Bombay artilleryman, most of them severely, and several dangerously.

About two hundred and fifty guns were captured altogether, including those taken at Paoushan: of these, forty-two were brass. There was one very curious iron gun, of a peculiar shape, being very small at the muzzle, and very large from the middle to the breach. It was of Chinese casting, and had an inscription on it, which shewed that it was upwards of three hundred years old. There was also another very curious old gun, with the arms of Spain upon it. Besides the above, a number of large ginjals and matchlocks, together with military stores of all kinds were discovered and destroyed; and to these must also be added the guns destroyed in the war-junks.

The Chinese did not expect the complete defeat they sustained at Woosung. The great extent of their preparations for defence, the determined resistance they offered, and the improvements they had adopted in the form and casting of their guns, and in the construction of their junks, sufficiently indicate the importance which they attached to the defence of this position. Precisely in proportion to their previous expectations were the disappointment and panic produced by their defeat.

Information was obtained, through Mr. Gutzlaff, that the Chinese were removing their property and families from the important commercial town of Shanghai, situated about fourteen miles up the Woosung river; from which place it was known that there was very extensive water-communication with some of the most important districts and cities of China.

No time was to be lost in taking advantage of the prevailing panic; and, accordingly, on the day after the capture of Woosung, the Nemesis and Medusa steamers were sent up, with Captain Kellett on board, for the purpose of sounding the channel, and to ascertain what defences the Chinese had constructed higher up. The deepest channel was found to run along the left bank for about two miles, and then to cross over towards the right bank, by keeping which on board there was water enough for a frigate at half flood. About seven miles up, they came in sight of two forts, one on either side of the river. One of these fired all its guns at the two steamers, but the shot fell far short. Soon afterwards a blaze was seen to burst out in each of the forts, and, on inquiry, it was found that the Chinese had set the buildings on fire and then abandoned the works. Being ordered not to proceed further than this point, the two steamers rejoined the Admiral to report the result of the reconnoissance.

The same afternoon, the Modeste, Columbine, and Clio, towed as before by the Nemesis, Phlegethon, and Pluto, were sent up the river, under the command of Captain Watson, with orders to

place them near the two batteries, but out of their range, and then to land and destroy the guns, if the Chinese were found to have abandoned them. On the morning of the 18th, these orders were skilfully executed; but the Clio unfortunately grounded, and, as the tide was falling, could not be towed off. Captain Watson landed with the marines and small-arm men of the Modeste and Columbine, and took possession of the forts which had been abandoned. In the larger fort on the right bank were found forty-one guns, eight of which were brass, and, in the opposite fort, fourteen guns, of which likewise eight were brass, or, more properly speaking, of copper. Many of these were found dismounted, and the carriages taken away. The tents and buildings had been already destroyed. Higher up the river were discovered eight war-junks, which were set on fire and destroyed, except one, on board which the copper guns, captured in the forts, were put, and sent down the river.

Reinforcements had now arrived to join both arms of the expedition, but were just too late to take part in the action at Woosung. H.M.S. Dido, Honourable Captain Keppell, arrived the very evening after the engagement; and, on the next day, the 2nd regiment Madras Native Infantry, and detachments of Artillery, with Sappers and Miners, also joined the forces under Sir Hugh Gough.

The 19th was the day fixed for the capture of Shanghai, for which purpose one column of our troops was to march by land, under Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomerie, M.A., consisting of about one thousand men, including the 18th and 49th regiments, with detachments of the Madras horse artillery and the royal artillery, with Sappers and Miners. The rest of the troops were embarked in the Tenasserim, Nemesis, Phlegethon, and Pluto steamers, which took in tow respectively the North Star, Modeste, Columbine, and Clio. The marines of the squadron were also taken up in the little Medusa; and Sir William Parker and Sir Hugh Gough, with their staff, accompanied by Captains Bourchier, Richards, Keppel, and other officers, proceeded up the river in that vessel.

They passed the deserted batteries, and met with no opposition until they came within sight of the city, where a long, well-constructed battery, situated below the town on the same or the left bank of the river, opened fire on the North Star and the other vessels, as they approached, but at such a distance as to do no damage. A couple of broadsides from the North Star and Modeste, with a few shot from the Tenasserim and Nemesis, sufficed to drive the Chinese out of the works. Captain Bourchier, with the seamen and marines, immediately landed and took

possession of the battery, upon which no less than forty-nine guns were found mounted, seventeen of which were of copper.

The steamers conveying the troops soon reached the city of Shanghai, where the 55th regiment was landed from the Nemesis upon a small jetty, without the necessity of using boats; another instance of the great utility of flat-bottomed, iron steamers. The city had been already taken possession of by the column under Colonel Montgomerie, without resistance, and many of the respectable inhabitants were hurrying off in great consternation, while the low rabble had, as usual, commenced their work of robbery and destruction the moment the authorities left the place.

Colonel Montgomerie's column had met with no opposition during its advance, and but little difficulty, except occasionally in crossing the guns over the narrow water-courses. They passed close in the rear of the fort which had opened on the ships, without seeing it; but, upon hearing the firing, they hastened on to the city, in the belief that the sound of the firing came from that direction. A large body of the Chinese, however, was observed in full retreat, and a few rockets were thrown among them to hasten their flight; but, owing to the many water-courses, and the swampy nature of the rice grounds, it was impossible to come to close quarters with them. On reaching the north-gate of the city, there appeared to be no preparations made for resistance, and the only two guns which could be seen mounted at the gateway looked harmless enough. In fact, there was no one at the gate; and two or three of our men, having contrived to get over the wall, soon opened the gate, and admitted the rest. It was now discovered that the place had been abandoned by the authorities the previous evening. The people generally shewed no ill feeling towards the foreigners, but rather an inclination to conciliate their good offices.

The city, though wealthy, and of more agreeable aspect, than most other Chinese towns which had been visited, was not given up to plunder; indeed, Sir Hugh Gough used every means in his power to prevent the commission of any excesses whatever. Very little plunder, or, as it was called, "loot," was obtained, and it was almost entirely limited to curiosities. There was no wanton aggression. Many of the houses were found deserted, and these were the only ones which suffered, except where downright robbery was committed by the gangs of Chinese plunderers. Every effort was made to put a stop to these abominable proceedings, and some of the most respectable inhabitants were called upon to take charge of a few of the large deserted establishments, particularly the pawn-

brokers' shops, which, in all Chinese towns, are establishments of enormous extent.*

As soon as the city was taken possession of, and guards placed at the gates, the Columbine and Medusa were sent a little way up the river, to endeavour to check the depopulation of the city, for the inhabitants at that time were hastening away in crowds, so that the river was actually covered with boats of all kinds, laden with furniture and goods. The Nemesis was also sent up in search of war-junks, and to reconnoitre the country. No further hostile preparations, however, were discovered. Quiet was maintained within the city, and the vessels of war and steamers were all anchored directly opposite to the town. The vast number of large trading-junks, which were lying there, surprised every one. Many of these were laden with valuable cargoes; both banks of the river were completely lined with them; and there were numerous large stone warehouses, filled with merchandize, some of which contained large quantities of sugar, salt, and provisions; there were also extensive timber-yards, and several large junks upon the stocks.†

Shanghai must be a place of immense commercial importance, not only as regards the internal traffic of the country, but also in respect to its foreign commerce, or at least its trade with the remoter parts of China, and even with Siam and Cochin-China. It is said to rank second only to Canton in commercial importance, particularly as the junks belonging to the southern provinces are prohibited from trading further north than this city, which therefore, in a certain degree, enjoys a monopoly. During Mr. Medhurst's visit to it, he reckoned that there were a thousand large junks in the river; and on visiting it, not long after it was taken, and when the trade was almost entirely stopped, I was myself much struck with the large size of the junks, which crowded both sides of the river.

* This fact may, at first view, be taken to indicate great fluctuations in regard to wealth or poverty; but this is not the case. These immense warehouses are frequently made use of to deposit articles of value, such as furs, and other costly things; which are by this means well preserved and taken care of until required for use; and in the interim the owners have the use of a portion of the value of the articles.

† The traffic in timber alone must be considerable, as there is none found in the neighbourhood adapted for ship-building: and the fine large spars which are required for the masts of junks, are all brought from the northward. The size of some of these spars may be judged of by the following measurements which were taken of the mainmast of one of the largest junks. It was eleven feet six inches in circumference a little above the deck, and one hundred and forty-one feet long; and the main-yard was one hundred and eleven feet in length. Very strong spars indeed are necessary, for they carry an enormous sail, without any shrouds or stays to support them.

Mr. Gutzlaff states that the imports of Shanghai already far exceed the exports; and, therefore, the difficulty again arises as to the mode of payment for the *additional* imports, which will soon find their way to Shanghai since the opening of the port. The Americans look forward to getting a large supply of green tea at Shanghai in exchange for their cotton, green tea being in extensive use among them.

Shanghai has immense internal communication with all the central parts of China; it is situated in the richest and most productive part of the country, and the adjacent district has been called the Chinese Arcadia. The country is one fertile flat, occasionally subject to ravages by inundations, but generally drained and cultivated with great care. In some parts, the land, lying below the level of the rivers, is only maintained by strong and extensive embankments. The whole country is covered with hamlets and villages, and cotton is cultivated in great quantities.

The inhabitants of Shanghai have, on all occasions, shewn a friendly disposition towards foreigners; and where the latter have been treated with rudeness, it has been solely by the orders of the mandarins, or at their instigation. Both Mr. Medhurst and Mr. Gutzlaff bear testimony to this fact, during their early visits; on which occasions the people eagerly asked for books, of which several thousand copies were distributed. So important is the trade of this place, that appointments in the public service are anxiously sought for, and the office of superintendent of customs is considered extremely lucrative.

Mr. Gutzlaff's testimony respecting this place is curious. Speaking of his visit, in 1832, he says, "the mandarins never directly interfered with my distributing books or conversing with the people; and after issuing the severest edicts against us, they gave us *full permission to do what we liked.* They afterwards praised our conduct, but gave the people their paternal advice to have nothing to do with us. An imperial edict arrived, ordering us to be treated with *compassion*, but not to be supplied with rice or water. But they sent us quantities of live stock and flour, upon the sole condition that *we would not pay for them.*" It is curious to observe how easily the Chinese evade all regulations when their interest leads them to do so, and how readily they adopt every subterfuge.

I chanced to pay a visit to Shanghai the very day after the conclusion of peace was first made known in the town. We landed from our boat, at a little stone jetty in front of a deserted temple, before which there was an open paved court, or square, crowded with people. Nothing could surpass the good order

which prevailed; not a noise or groan was heard, nor inconvenience of any kind experienced. Curiosity seemed to be the sole absorbing feeling, and one could hardly imagine that this was only the first week of peace, and that a hostile force had a short time before occupied the city. A Chinese crowd is the most orderly in the world; and, if we may judge of civilization by the quiet, sober, deferential bearing of a large body of people crowded together in narrow streets, certainly the Chinese deserve to bear the palm. A few soldiers were appointed to attend us through the town, who, instead of arms, carried a fan-case, tied round their waist, and a whip in their hand, with which they cleared the way with apparent good will, as we proceeded along the streets of the suburbs.

It was a curious sight to look down the long, narrow, paved street, on each side of which were crowds of shaved heads, each trying to raise itself an inch or two higher, to catch a glimpse of the passing strangers. The steps and doorways were crowded, and also a few of the windows; but, most of the shops being shut, and the houses having generally only one story, there were none of those groups of figures, men, women, and children, rising in stages, one above another, such as are seen in Europe from the bottom of the house to the top, when anything remarkable is passing.

The greatest contrast, next to the immense collection of bald heads, and brown, roundish, ugly-looking features, consisted in the total absence of women, which, in any part of Europe, would have formed perhaps the most numerous and noisy part of the assemblage. There was no appearance whatever of rudeness or hostility; and when the people were pushed aside, or reminded, by a gentle touch of the whip that they must move out of the way, they did so in apparent good-humour.

The inner town appeared to be only separated from the suburb by the actual wall, there being little difference in the houses on one side or the other. Two or three additional soldiers turned out of the guard-house as we passed, and joined our escort, certainly a shabby-looking set.

Much was said of the so-called tea-gardens of Shanghai; but, on reaching them, great was our astonishment to find that they ought rather to be called *tea-ponds*. According to our notions, land and grass, and plants and flowers, are supposed to belong to gardens—even to tea-gardens; but, at Shanghai it is quite the reverse, for water predominates. Ornamental gardening in China, properly so called, is extremely uncommon. At Canton there is a very good garden, belonging to a Hong merchant, but, generally speaking, the land is too precious, for the purpose of

producing food, to permit the Chinese to devote much space even to fruits. At the entrance to the tea-gardens our approach was greeted by the plaintive voice of an old woman, who professed to sing songs to the accompaniment of an instrument of a peculiar kind, covered with snakeskin. It had three strings fastened to a long handle, with a small drum at the end of it, and was played with a bow. The gardens were more remarkable from their novelty than their beauty. The place consisted in reality, of a sheet of nearly stagnant water, with paths or platforms, or little islands, intersecting it in various directions, upon which were built summer-houses or pavilions of various shapes, in Chinese style, in which the good citizens of Shanghai assemble to drink tea (at any hour of the *day*), and smoke the pipe, which is a Chinaman's invariable companion, for recreation. There were also a few walks among heaps of stones, called artificial rocks, with seats scattered here and there: but in most respects the whole place greatly disappointed our expectations.

Among the most remarkable objects of Shanghai were the enormous ice-houses, both within and without the city, in which ice is stored for public use. This was a real luxury to our soldiers and sailors when the place was taken.

We spent the night in a deserted joss-house, close to the landing-place; and, during the evening and the following day, crowds of curious visitors came to look at us, and made themselves agreeable as well as they could. They seemed to be particularly pleased with the Company's new rupees with the Queen's head upon them, and willingly gave half a dollar each for them;—being rather more than their value. Glass bottles were in great request, and the *brandy* was pronounced excellent.

One of the principal mandarins came down to pay us a visit, preceded by criers and runners; then came whippers-in, and a couple of executioners, with chains in their hands, as a sign of their calling; then came the great man, seated in a very gay sedan-chair; next followed a couple of dirty-looking fellows, with gigantic fans; and two or three men mounted on ponies closed the procession. The people stood on either side of the street, and gazed in silence. They had little curiosity about the movements of the great man, but a vast deal concerning every step or look of the strange-looking foreigners. The mandarin was extremely courteous and well-bred towards us, and we observed that he was treated with great deference, and no one, except ourselves, dared to sit in his presence.

There is great abundance of game in the neighbourhood of Shanghai, principally pheasants, and various kinds of wild fowl. But it greatly astonishes the Chinese that any man should

take the trouble to shoot birds, or find any amusement in the sport, when he could easily get people to shoot them for him upon a very slight payment.

The sum agreed to be paid for the ransom of Shanghai was said to be three hundred thousand dollars, which was considered in the light of a contribution, similar to the ransom-money of Canton. Whatever the amount may have been, it was reckoned as part of the money stipulated for by the treaty of Nankin.

A quantity of guns, arms, and military stores, were, as usual, found in the arsenal within the city, and also large stores of rice. Sixty-eight guns (exclusive of those in the batteries below the town) were captured at Shanghai. Seventeen of these were of copper, newly cast, and very heavy, and, consequently, valuable for the prize fund. In a battery facing the river, fifty-six guns were found, of which seventeen were brass 6-pounders. Altogether at Shanghai one hundred and seventy-one guns were captured. But, reckoning the whole number of guns taken in these operations, both at Woosung and at Shanghai, and in the various batteries on the river's banks, they will be found to amount to the amazing number of three hundred and sixty pieces, exclusive of those destroyed in the junks. Of these seventy-six were of copper, some of them of great length and weight of metal, but of proportionably small bore. They looked very well outside, but the casting of many of them was defective, and not a few were made with a coating, or rather tube, of iron, about one and a half to two inches thick, along the bore, over which the copper was cast. At Shanghai also full nine tons of gunpowder were found, contained in three hundred and thirty tubs and jars. All the military stores were destroyed.

It was evident that great preparations had been made for defending this important place; but, when the hour of trial came, and the news of the action at Woosung reached the city, the principal mandarins quitted it in despair, and all hope of defence was given up.

On the morning of the 20th (the day after the city was taken), Capt. Bourchier and Commander Kellett were ordered to proceed in the Phlegethon, accompanied by the Medusa, together with the barge of the Cornwallis, carrying a few marines, and also a boat from the Columbine, to reconnoitre the river for a distance of thirty miles above the town. Two small field-works of five guns each were discovered upon the right bank of the river, and a considerable body of soldiers were observed at some distance in the rear. Lieut. Wise was sent, with the boats and marines of

the Cornwallis, for the purpose of destroying the works, which was effected without any resistance.

The report of what had been seen and done this day was considered so important and interesting, that Sir William Parker determined to continue the examination in person next day, still further up the river. About fifty marines and seamen were embarked in the Nemesis, and the Admiral hoisted his flag in her, accompanied by Capt. Bourchier, Honourable Capt. Keppel, Capt. Lock, and other officers; and about noon, on the 21st, they proceeded up the river, followed by the Phlegethon and Medusa.

The river gradually became narrower, but still carried from four to six fathoms water, and appeared to have an immense number of canals and water-courses connected with it. Many of these led directly towards the towns and villages, some of which could be just seen at a distance, others not far from the banks. The country looked rich, and was carefully laid out in rice-grounds, and otherwise well-cultivated. It was not so picturesque as about Ningpo, but there was all the appearance of a thriving and industrious population. A heavy storm of thunder and lightning came on in the afternoon, and the three steamers were brought to anchor for the night a little above the two forts destroyed the day before.

On the following morning they again pursued their course up the river, and soon found that it divided itself into two branches of equal size, one flowing down from the eastward, and the other coming from the westward. They followed the latter, which gradually took a more northerly direction, but the water shoaled as they proceeded, until, at the distance of a few miles from where they started, there was only one fathom; and, as the Nemesis and Phlegethon could not safely ascend higher, the Admiral, with the other officers, removed on board the Medusa, which being smaller, drew a foot to eighteen inches less water. But they were not able to go up more than eight or nine miles further; for they were stopped by the increasing shallowness of the water at the entrance of a large lagoon. It was ascertained, however, from some boatmen, who stated that they had left Soo-chow-foo only the previous day, that there was a direct communication by water with that city, which could not be a great many miles distant. It could not be doubted, therefore, that this important city was easily accessible to our forces, should it be thought advisable to advance upon it.

Several large boats were coming down the river laden with coal said to be brought from the neighbourhood of Soo-chow-foo, where iron is also believed to abound. Indeed, coal of very fair quality is

found in many parts of this province, and the Nemesis was using it for steam purposes at that very time.

The whole distance ascended above Shanghai was about forty-five miles, and it was matter of regret that time could not be spared to explore the other, or eastern branch of the river. Several large pagodas were seen at a distance, one in particular to the northward, probably pointing out the neighbourhood of a large town.

The same evening the three iron steamers returned to Shanghai, and anchored abreast of the town, where his Excellency, Sir Henry Pottinger, had just arrived from Hong-Kong, having touched at Amoy and at Chusan on his way up. It was also announced that strong reinforcements had arrived at Chusan and might be expected to join our forces in the Yangtze-Kiang in a few days. No fewer than seventy-three vessels of war and transports set sail from Woosung together; besides two others left at that anchorage, to blockade the river leading to Shanghai. Several other vessels joined the expedition on its way up to Nankin, and afterwards.

CHAPTER XXXII.

All intentions of advancing upon the important cities of Hang-chow or Soo-chow-foo was now given up; large reinforcements had already arrived from England and India. Nothing could exceed the energy of the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, in forwarding all the spare forces and supplies at his disposal; and more were daily expected at Woosung; and it was resolved to advance immediately upon Nankin, the ancient capital of the empire. The navigation of the Yangtze river was almost entirely unknown, only a small portion of it having been surveyed by Capt. Bethune in the Conway. To the Chinese themselves the ascent of large ships or junks as far as Nankin appeared quite impracticable, principally owing to the amazing strength of the currents and the numerous sand-banks which render its channels intricate.

Sir William Parker, however, felt so much confidence in his own resources and in the aid of his numerous steam vessels, (several more of which had now arrived,) that he did not hesitate to undertake the bold measure of conducting a fleet of between seventy and eighty sail, including two *line of battle ships*, besides the large troop ships into the very heart of the empire, more than two hundred miles from the sea. The whole commerce of

this vast Yangtze river would be thus cut off; the Grand Canal itself would be blockaded, and it was hoped that we should be able to intercept the large fleet of grain-junks, which at this time of the year, carry up their cargoes to the imperial metropolis, and not only supply its inhabitants with food, but also the imperial treasury *with tribute*. It was afterwards ascertained that these grain-junks had all crossed the Yangtze river, from the southern to the northern branch of the canal, on the 26th of June, a few days before our fleet left Woosung.

On the 23rd of June, our troops returned from Shanghai to Woosung, principally on board the steamers; but two companies of the 18th and the Rifles, together with the horses of the Artillery, marched back by land, the guns being brought down on board the vessels. The Nemesis, having conveyed her detachments of troops to their respective transports, volunteered to go and fetch off the other division, and also the horses, which had marched overland, and had been waiting for several hours at Woosung without the means of getting on board their ships. The men were embarked direct from the river's bank, and also the horses, which were hoisted in with slings, and it was late at night before they were put on board their respective transports.

The Belleisle, with the whole of the 98th on board, had just arrived from England, together with the Rattle-Snake troop-ship, the Vixen, heavily armed steamer, Commander H. Boyes; and the Proserpine, Captain J. J. Hough, R.N. They were preceded by the Endymion, 44 guns, Capt. Honourable F. W. Grey; the Dido, 20, Honourable H. Keppel; Calliope, 26, Capt. A. S. Kuper, C.B.; Childers, 16, Commander Halsted; and numerous transports, having on board the 2nd and 6th regiments Madras Native Infantry; also the Bengal Volunteers, and reinforcements of artillery, together with the necessary proportion of camp followers.

Shortly afterwards two French ships of war also arrived at Woosung, for the purpose of watching our movements—the Erigone, 44, Capt. Cecile, and the Favourite, 18, Captain Le Page. The latter attempted to follow the fleet up the river, and the Admiral was politely requested to allow the use of one of his steamers to assist her in getting up; but this, of course, could not be complied with, as our steamers were all indispensable, to enable the numerous fleet of transports to stem the current, and to tow them off whenever they chanced to get on shore.

Before our forces left Shanghai, the same mandarin, who had before frequently presented himself at head-quarters, and who was jocularly christened Corporal White, again made his appearance as the bearer of a communication from the high authorities

to Sir Henry Pottinger. But, as no document was shewn by which any individual could prove his having received full authority from the Emperor to treat for peace, no attention whatever was paid to these very equivocal overtures. At the same time, however, Sir Henry published a very important and interesting proclamation, addressed to the Chinese people, and adopting something of the tone of Oriental language. It was, of course, published in Chinese. The opening sentences form a sort of quaint imitation of the celestial style, with the object, probably, of fixing the attention of the Chinese at the outset. For instance: "Under the canopy of heaven, and within the circumference of the earth, many are the different countries: of the multitude of these, not one is there that is not ruled by the Supreme Heavenly Father, nor are there any that are not brethren of one family. Being then of one family, very plain is it that they should hold friendly and brotherly intercourse together, and not boast themselves one above another." After this exordium, it proceeds to lay open the grievances of the English, the extortions and double-dealings of the local authorities at Canton, gradually increasing year after year; and then recapitulates the proceedings adopted by the English, their visit to the Peiho, the conferences and stipulations agreed to by Keshen, and rejected by the Imperial Cabinet, the treacherous attack of the Chinese, and other matters already fully explained. It then refers to the cruelties practised upon our countrymen when taken prisoners, either by being kidnapped, or in cases where they were shipwrecked. It further reminds the people that in ancient times foreigners were permitted to trade at various ports in China, to the manifest advantage of all parties, and that it was only by false statements and local intrigue that the Emperor was at length induced to confine the foreign trade solely to Canton, and to establish the monopoly of the thirteen Hongs. Finally, it is declared that hostilities will continue to be carried on, until some high officer shall be appointed by the Emperor, with full powers to negotiate and conclude arrangements, of which the three following points were to be the basis:—Compensation for losses and expenses; a friendly and becoming intercourse, on terms of *equality*, between officers of the two countries; and the cession of *insular territory* for commerce, and for the residence of merchants, and as a security and *guarantee* against future renewal of offensive acts.

This proclamation was issued the day before the fleet set sail from Woosung for Nankin. It is a curious coincidence that, a few days before this, an edict, or proclamation, was issued by the Emperor, in which *he also* recapitulated the leading events of the

war, and tried to make it appear that all the difficulties had arisen solely from the crusade which his Majesty had directed to be carried on against the "Opium poison." He blames Commissioner Lin for his bad management; and with regard to the 6,000,000 dollars ransom for Canton, his celestial Majesty declares that it was a very small matter, and that he did not grudge it at all. But when the rebellious foreigners left Canton, and advanced to recapture Chusan, and to take Ningpo and other cities, then says his Majesty, with unaffected bitterness of spirit, "I severely blame *myself*, and hate *myself*, for being unequal to my duties; I cannot rescue my subjects; and repose by day or night is difficult for me." At the same time, he is slow to believe that the strength of the barbarian ships is really so great as represented, and strongly hints that his people are cowards; and while, on the one hand, he promises rewards to the valiant, he orders that those who run away shall be instantly executed without mercy. Carefully losing sight of every other grievance or source of difficulties, his Majesty reiterates his prohibition against opium, and urges the most strenuous exertions to sweep the worthless barbarians clean away into the depths of the wide ocean. In fact, it now became very manifest that the Emperor was seriously alarmed; and, although his spirit breathed a bitter hostility, it could not be doubted that his Majesty ardently longed for peace.

Sir Henry's proclamation soon afterwards called forth a reply from Niew-Kien, the Viceroy of the two Kiang provinces, to which the seat of war was now removed. It was one of those curious little essays in which the Chinese delight, made up of a few common-place truisms dressed in the peculiar phraseology of the East. He cunningly recommends the Plenipotentiary to draw up a full statement of all *grievances*, to be transmitted through him (the Viceroy) to the Emperor, which would of course bear upon its very face the appearance of *asking* for *favours*, instead of dictating *terms*. He further reminds his Excellency, that although the Chinese have suffered much, still the English must have lost many brave men also, and by coming from so great a distance must have likewise incurred great expense; that it would be much better for *both parties* to put an end to the war at once, and vows the most perfect sincerity before all the gods. At the same time, he confesses his great alarm at seeing all the people fly from their habitations, and the country given up to the plundering of the *native* robbers. Indeed, Niew-Kien, in another report addressed to the Emperor, expressed the greatest possible apprehension lest the people should be frightened away, either by severe measures on his part, or by the approach of the enemy, and thus the whole country be given up to the excesses of the lawless native plun-

derers, who would take the opportunity to rob and commit all kinds of mischief.

The Chinese appear to have rested all their hopes for the defence of the Yangtze river and the approach to Nankin entirely upon the strength of their works at Woosung, and had consequently made little or no preparations for resistance higher up. It had, indeed, been recommended by one of the Tartar generals that a portion of the river below Nankin should be staked across, and junks laden with stones sunk to impede the navigation, and likewise that fire-vessels should be prepared. But this advice was overruled by Niew-Kien, the Viceroy, upon the ground of its inutility; and it was urged that the extreme rapidity of the current, and the sunken rocks and sands in parts most difficult of navigation, would be the best defences, and that any attempts to stake the river would not only be expensive and useless, but would greatly alarm the people. Fire-rafts were only ordered to be got ready, when there was no time whatever even to commence them, the enemy being already close to the city of Chin-keang-foo. From documents which subsequently fell into our possession, it was also ascertained that the apprehension of our advance upon Pekin by way of the river Peiho was so great, that a body of troops, already ordered to march to Soo-chow-foo, were recalled, and directed to proceed immediately to Tiensttin, in order to defend the approaches to the metropolis.

During the latter part of June, the weather was very squally and unsettled, and therefore not very well adapted for the advance of a fleet of more than seventy sail, up a river, the navigation of which was almost entirely unknown. The channels were now buoyed off, and beacon-vessels were placed at one or two of the most important parts; and Commanders Kellett and Collinson, accompanied by the masters of the ships of war, were sent in advance on the 29th, to sound and to make preparations for the passage of the fleet, and particularly for the purpose of surveying the river above the point where Captain Bethune's researches terminated.

The distance of Nankin from Woosung is about 170 miles, and a very accurate survey of this beautiful river, as far as that ancient capital was ultimately completed. Even there the river is very broad and the channel deep, so that the Cornwallis was able to lie within 1000 yards of the walls of the city. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the river was not examined for some distance above the city, for it could not be doubted that, with the assistance of steamers, even large ships would be able to ascend several hundred miles further. But the conclusion of the peace followed so soon after the arrival of our forces before the ancient capital, that there

was no opportunity of continuing our discoveries further into the interior, without compromising our character for sincerity, while the negotiations were in progress. It could not have failed, however, had circumstances permitted, of furnishing much interesting information respecting the interior of this extraordinary country.

There are few rivers in the world to be compared with the Yangtze, in point of extent, and the richness of the provinces through which it flows. Supposed to take its rise at a distance of more than 3000 miles from the sea, among the furthest mountains of Thibet, it traverses the whole empire of China from west to east, turning a little to the northward, and is believed to be navigable through the whole of these valuable provinces.

The navigation of this river was found less difficult than might have been expected. There are, indeed, numerous sand-banks, some of which change their places, owing to the rapidity of the current; and, at the upper part of the river, towards Chin-keang-foo, there is some danger from rocks; but the greatest obstacle to the navigation is the rapidity of the current, which, even when beyond the influence of the tide, runs down at the rate of three and a half to four miles an hour. It is not surprising that almost every ship of the squadron should have touched the ground; but, as the bottom was generally soft mud, no serious damage was sustained. The steamers were of course indispensable, and the assistance of two or three of them together was, in some instances, requisite to haul the ships off.

One of the largest transports, the Marion, having the head-quarters and staff, and also treasure on board, was thrown upon the rocks by the force of the current, on the way *down* from Nankin, and would certainly have been lost, but for the aid rendered by two steamers, the Nemesis and the Memnon, and the valuable experience already gained by Captain Hall in the Chinese rivers.

Sir William Parker's arrangements for the merchant transports were perfect; their orders were definite, and generally obeyed with alacrity; boats were always in readiness, and signals carefully watched. Probably, if it were required to point out any one circumstance which redounded more than another to the honour of the British service, it would be that of having carried a fleet of nearly 80 sail up to the walls of the city of Nankin and brought it safely back again.

At the beginning of July, the weather became very favourable for the ascent of the river, and the Phlegethon, having returned with the intelligence that a clear and deep channel had been found as far as Golden Island, close to the entrance of the Grand Canal, and that buoys had been laid down to facilitate the navigation,

orders were given that the fleet should be in readiness to get under weigh on the morning of the 6th. It was formed into five divisions, each consisting of from eight to twelve transports, conducted by a ship-of-war, and under the orders of her captain; and to each division a steamer was attached, to render assistance when required. In addition to the steamers so employed, the Phlegethon, Medusa, and Pluto were in attendance, principally upon the advanced squadron, and in readiness to assist any other ship which stood in need of aid. The Nemesis and Proserpine also accompanied the fleet. Thus there were no fewer than ten steamers attached to the squadron when it set sail from Woosung, and they were afterwards joined up the river (but not until hostilities had ceased) by two other powerful steamers, the Driver and the Memnon.

The North Star, Captain Sir E. Home, Bart., was left at Woosung to blockade that river, with orders to detain all merchant junks laden with provisions which might attempt to pass up the Yangtze, or into the Woosung. It was a curious sight afterwards to look at the numerous fleet of junks, some of them of large size, which were collected at that anchorage, and for some time it was no easy matter for the North Star to prevent them from attempting to make their escape; but, when a round shot or two had been sent through some of the most refractory, and a few of the captains had been brought on board the North Star and strictly warned, they all became "very submissively obedient," and patiently awaited the permission to depart, which was not granted until the peace had been proclaimed.

The Chinese had prepared no means of resisting the advance of our squadron up the river; and even the few guns which had previously been mounted on two small forts on the right bank of the river, adjoining the towns of Foushan and Keang-yin, were withdrawn on the approach of our forces, in order to avert the injury which might have been done to those towns had any show of resistance been offered.

The country along the lower part of the Yangtze is altogether alluvial, and intersected by innumerable canals and water-courses. In most parts it is highly cultivated, but in others less so than we were led to expect. On one occasion, I walked for the distance of five or six miles into the interior, attended by crowds of the peasantry, who appeared to be a strong, hardy, well-disposed race, and offered no kind of violence or insult. They appeared to be influenced solely by curiosity, and a few of them brought us poultry for sale, but the greater part seemed afraid to have any dealings with us. The small cotton plant was cultivated very extensively, and at nearly every cottage-door an old woman was

seated, either picking the cotton or spinning it into yarn. The hop plant was growing abundantly in a *wild state*, and was apparently not turned to any use.

The small town of Foushan, at the base of a partially fortified hill, and a conical mountain, with a pagoda upon its summit, situated upon the opposite side of the river, form the first striking objects which meet the eye, and relieve the general monotony of the lower part of the river. Above this point, the scenery becomes more interesting, and gradually assumes rather a mountainous character.

Compared with the neighbourhood of Ningpo, or Chapoo, you are inclined to be disappointed in the aspect of the country generally; you find it less carefully and economically cultivated, and, perhaps, one of your first hasty impressions would be to doubt whether the population of China can be so dense as the best-received accounts lead us to suppose. When you consider the immense extent of country through which this magnificent river flows, and the alluvial nature of the great belt of land which runs along the sea-coast, you are prepared to expect that here, if anywhere a great mass of people would be congregated, and that town would succeed town, and village follow village, along the whole course of this great artery.

About twenty-five miles above Foushan, stands the rather considerable town of Keang-yin, situated in a very picturesque valley, about a mile distant from the river side; but there is a small village close to the landing-place. The river suddenly becomes narrow at this spot, but soon again spreads out to nearly its former breadth. The town of Keang-yin is distinguished by a remarkable pagoda, to which, with great difficulty, we persuaded a venerable-looking priest to conduct us. He hesitated a long time before he could be induced to lead us into the town, which was surrounded by a very high, thick, parapeted wall, banked up with earth on the inside. No soldiers were to be seen, and many of the inhabitants began very hastily to shut up their shops the moment they saw us enter the streets.

The pagoda appeared to be the only striking object in the place, and from the peculiarity of its construction was well worth seeing. It was built of red brick, in the usual octagonal form, gradually inclining upwards, but was so constructed *in the inside*, that each story slightly overhung the one below it, although the outside appeared quite regular. The building was partly in ruins, but looked as if it had never been completely finished. Not far from it was a well of clear, delicious water, some of which was brought to us in basins, with marks of good-nature, as if the people intended to surprise us with a treat. We afterwards

learned that good water is rarely found in the neighbourhood of the river, and that the inhabitants are in the habit of purifying it by dissolving in it a small portion of alum. It was also stated that fish caught in the river are considered unwholesome.

The distance from Keang-yin to Chin-keang-foo is about sixty-six miles by the river, but not much more than half that distance by land, the course of the former being very tortuous. The country gradually increases in interest, becoming more hilly and picturesque the higher you ascend.

At Seshan, which is about fifteen miles below Chin-keang-foo, some show of opposition was offered by two or three small batteries, mounting twenty guns, situated at the foot of a remarkable conical hill. They opened fire at first upon the Pluto and Nemesis steamers, which were at that time employed ou the surveying service. The day afterwards they opened fire also upon the Phlegethon and Modeste, which were sent forward to attack them. The garrison were, however, soon driven out, and could be seen throwing off their outer wadded jackets, to enable them to escape with greater nimbleness. The guns, magazines, and barracks, were destroyed.

A little way below Chin-keang-foo, the channel is much narrowed by the island of Seung-shan, and the current is, consequently, extremely rapid, so that the utmost skill and care, aided by a strong breeze, are necessary to enable a vessel to stem the stream, and overcome the strength of the eddies and whirlpools. Seung-shan, or Silver Island, is all rocky, but rendered picturesque by the trees which are planted in the hollows. It is devoted to religious purposes, being ornamented with temples, and it was formerly honoured by the visits of the Emperors, to whom it is said still to belong.

Nearly the same description will apply to Kinshan, or Golden Island, situated higher up the river, nearly opposite to the mouth of the Grand Canal. It is distinguished by a pagoda, which crowns its summit, and by its numerous yellow-tiled temples. The decayed condition of some of the pavilions, and the remnants of former splendour which once decorated their walls, together with the imperial chair itself, ornamented with well-carved dragons all over its back and sides, attest the importance which this island and the environs of the great southern capital possessed in times long past, and the low estate into which this interesting part of the country has fallen since Pekin became the metropolis of China, and the Imperial residence of its conquerors.

On the 16th Sir Wm. Parker and Sir Hugh Gough proceeded up the river in H. M. steamer Vixen, followed by the little Medusa, to reconnoitre the approaches to Chin-keang-foo. They

passed up above the city without any opposition, approaching very near the entrance of the Imperial Canal, which takes its course close under the city walls. No preparations for resistance were apparent — at least, there were no soldiers visible upon the city walls, and the inhabitants who came out in great numbers, were evidently attracted only by curiosity. Hence the first impression was, that no resistance would be offered, and the information obtained through the interpreters tended to encourage the same conclusion.

The walls of the city, which is situated on the right bank of the river, were, however, in good repair, and the distance from the river was not too great to allow the ships to bombard it if requisite. But the general feeling was, that the attack (if, indeed, any resistance at all were offered) was to be left entirely to the military arm of the expedition, the more particularly as the engagement at Woosung had been entirely monopolized by the navy, and an opportunity was desired by the army to achieve for itself similar honours. A second reconnoissance, made from the top of the pagoda on Golden Island, brought to view three encampments on the slope of the hills, a little to the south-west of the city, which rather tended to confirm the impression that the troops had moved out of the town.

The advanced squadron, under Capt. Bourchier, had been sent a little higher up, to blockade the entrances of the Grand Canal, and the other water-communications by which the commerce of the interior is maintained. On the 19th the Cornwallis was enabled to take up a position close off the city, near the southern entrance of the Grand Canal; and on the 20th the whole of the fleet had assembled in that neighbourhood.

It has been already stated that little or no resistance was expected in the town itself; but the ships might have easily thrown a few shells into it, to make the enemy show themselves, or have regularly bombarded the place if necessary. It seems, however, to have been settled that it should be altogether a military affair; and, with the exception of some boats, which were sent up the canal, and a body of seamen who were landed, and did gallant service under Captains Richards and Watson, the naval branch of the expedition had little to do. From documents subsequently found in the city, it was ascertained that there were actually about two thousand four hundred fighting men within the walls, of whom one thousand two hundred were resident Tartar soldiers, and four hundred Tartars sent from a distant province. Very few guns were mounted, as the greater part of them had been carried down for the defence of Woosung. Outside the walls there were three encampments at some distance

from the town, in which there was a force altogether of something less than three thousand men, with several guns, and a quantity of ginjals. As the adult Tartar population of every city are, in fact, soldiers by birth, it may be supposed that even those who do not belong to the regular service are always ready to take up arms in defence of their hearths; and in this way some of our men suffered, because they did not know, from their external appearance, which were the ordinary inhabitants, and which were Tartars.

On our side the whole force engaged at Chin-keang-foo, though very much larger than any hitherto brought into the field in China, did not amount to seven thousand men, including officers, non-commissioned officers, and rank and file. The exact numbers, according to the field list, amounted to six thousand six hundred and sixty-four men, besides officers. They were divided into three brigades, under Major-Generals Lord Saltoun, Schoedde, and Bartley, besides the artillery brigade, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Montgomerie.

On the evening of the 20th, all the arrangements were completed for the attack of the city and the encampments beyond it, on the following morning at daylight. It has been already stated that it was not proposed that the ships should bombard the town; and the only vessel which fired into it was the Auckland steamer, which covered the landing, and threw a few shot and shells into the city. But a body of seamen and marines of the squadron took an active share in the work of the day, under Captain Richards and other officers; and Sir William Parker himself accompanied the General, and forced his way with him through the city gates.

The plan adopted by Sir Hugh Gough was to endeavour to cut off the large body of Chinese troops encamped upon the slope of the hills; for which purpose the first and third brigades, together with part of the Artillery, were to be landed in the western suburbs of the city, opposite to Golden Island, near where a branch of the Grand Canal runs close under the city walls; Lord Saltoun, with the first brigade, was to attack the encampments; while Sir Hugh Gough, in person, with the third brigade and the rest of the artillery, proposed to operate against the west gate, and the western face of the walls.

The second brigade, under Major-General Schoedde, was to land under a bluff point, somewhat to the northward of the city, where there were two small hills, which commanded the walls on that side. The object was to create a diversion, and draw the attention of the enemy towards that quarter, while the real attack was to be made upon the western gate, which was to be blown

in by powder-bags. General Schoedde was directed to use his own discretion, as to turning his diversion into a real attack, should he think proper to do so.

There was found to be more difficulty in landing the troops than had been expected, many of the transports lying at a considerable distance, and the great strength of the current rendering the operation troublesome and protracted. The first brigade, under Lord Saltoun, succeeded in driving the enemy completely over the hills, after receiving a distant and ineffectual fire as they advanced; but they met with a more determined resistance from a column of the enemy, who were in great danger of being cut off. Several casualties occurred on our side in this encounter. Upon the walls of the town itself, few soldiers shewed themselves; and the resistance which was soon experienced was not at all expected.

General Schoedde, with a portion of the second brigade, took possession of a joss-house, or temple, upon the hill overlooking the northern and eastern face of the walls, near the river, and there awaited the landing of the rest of his brigade, being received by a spirited fire of guns, ginjals, and matchlocks, which was opened from the city walls; this was returned by a fire of rockets. As soon as a sufficient force had been collected, the Rifles, under Captain Simpson, descended from a small wooded hill which they occupied, and crept up close under the walls, keeping up a well-sustained fire upon the Tartars. Major-General Schoedde now gave orders for escalading the wall, although, from its not having been part of the regular plan of attack, only three scaling-ladders were provided. The grenadier company of the 55th, with two companies of the 6th Madras Native Infantry, advanced to the escalade, under the command of Brevet-Major Maclean, of the 55th. The first man who mounted the walls was Lieutenant Cuddy, of the 55th, who remained sitting upon the wall, assisting the others to get up, with astonishing coolness. He was shortly afterwards wounded in the foot by a matchlock ball. The 55th and the 6th Madras Native Infantry vied with each other in gallantly mounting the ladders, together with the Rifles; but the Tartars fought desperately. As they retreated along the wall, they made a stand at every defensible point, sheltering themselves behind the large guard stations and watch-boxes, which are found at intervals upon most of the Chinese walls.

Many anecdotes are told by those who were present, of the desperate determination with which the Tartars fought. Many of them rushed upon the bayonets. In some instances, they got within the soldiers' guard, and seizing them by the body, dragged their enemies with themselves over the walls; and in one or two

instances succeeded in throwing them over, before they were themselves bayoneted. The Tartars were fine muscular men, and looked the more so from the loose dresses which they wore. They did not shrink from sword combats, or personal encounters of any kind; and, had they been armed with weapons similar to those of our own troops, even without much discipline, upon the top of walls where the front is narrow and the flanks cannot be turned, they would have probably maintained their ground for a much longer time, and perhaps even until they were attacked by another body in the rear. Major Warren and Captain Simpson were wounded, as well as Lieutenant Cuddy.

As soon as the wall was scaled, one body of our troops proceeded to clear the walls to the right, and the other to the left; and the latter, as they scoured the walls, afterwards fell in with the 3rd brigade, with the General and the Admiral at their head, who had just forced their way in at the gateway. While these important successes had been gained by General Schoedde with the second brigade, two other operations had been conducted at the western gate, one by the third brigade, and the other by a small body of marines and seamen, under Captain Richards.

Sir Hugh Gough, as soon as he had been joined by the 18th and the greater part of the 49th, with the 26th, which had *not* accompanied Lord Saltoun's brigade, gave orders to blow in the west gate with powder-bags. The canal which runs along the walls on that side was found not to be fordable; and this was ascertained by four officers, who volunteered to swim across it to ascertain the fact. Sir Hugh Gough was at this time with the third brigade, under Major-General Bartley, about midway between the south and west gates, but determined to storm the latter, because the suburbs afforded shelter for the men to approach it, with little exposure. A few Tartar soldiers only appeared upon the walls at this point, as the main body had probably been marched off to reinforce those who were opposed to our troops, after the escalade of the walls on the northern side.

Two guns, under Lieutenant Molesworth, were placed so as to command the approach to the gate, and to cover the advance of a party of sappers and miners under Captain Pears, who were to fix the powder-bags against the gate. This operation was completely successful: and the General, putting himself at the head of the 18th, who had just come up, rushed in over the rubbish, the grenadiers forming the advance, and entered a long archway, which led into what might be called an outwork, from which there was a second gate, conducting into the town itself. In Chinese fortifications, as before described, there are always two gateways; the outer placed at right angles to the main wall of the town, so

as to be flanked by it, and leading into a large court, surrounded by walls similar to the walls of the town, and in which there are commonly cells for prisoners, &c. The second gate and archway leads from it directly into the body of the place, and is surmounted by a guard-house upon the top of the gateway, to which you ascend by a flight of stone steps on either side.

All resistance at the gateways had been already overcome, the Chinese guard at the inner gate having given way before the advanced party of the 55th regiment; and the open court, or space between the two gateways, having been just occupied by a party of marines and seamen, under Captains Richards and Watson, who had escaladed the outer wall very near the gateway.

The boats of the Blonde. which was at anchor off one of the principal southern branches of the Grand Canal running under the city walls, having been employed in landing the Artillery Brigade during the early part of the morning, were ordered, about ten o'clock to re-embark part of the Artillery and Gun-Lascars, with two howitzers, for the purpose of assisting in the attack of the west gate, and to create a diversion in favour of the troops At all events, whatever the object of the movement might have been, it is certain that the guns were put on board the boats of the Blonde, and that there were altogether about 100 men embarked. The boats consisted of the launch, barge, pinnace, cutter, and flat of that ship, together with two boats belonging to transports. They proceeded up the canal, which took a winding direction through the suburbs, for some distance, until they came suddenly in sight of the west gate of the city, which until then had been obscured by the houses. The whole of these boats were under the command of Lieutenant Crouch, of the Blonde, having Messrs. Lambert, Jenkins, and Lyons, midshipmen, under his orders.

On coming in sight of the gate, the barge, cutter, and flat were a little in advance of the other boats, and proceeding in single line towards a spot pointed out by Major Blundell, of the Madras Artillery, as well adapted for the landing of the guns. Suddenly a heavy fire of matchlocks and ginjals was opened on them from the whole line of the city wall, running parallel with the canal; and, as the height of it was little less than 40 feet, the small gun of the barge could not be elevated sufficiently to do any service, and the fire of musketry which was returned was inefficient.

The Chinese opened their fire with deadly effect upon the advancing boats, and, in the course of about ten minutes, sixteen seamen and eight artillerymen were wounded; Lieutenant Crouch

himself was hit in three places, and one midshipman (Mr. Lyons) and two officers of the artillery were also wounded. Under these circumstances, the men were got out of the boats as quickly as possible, and placed under cover of the houses in the suburbs, on the opposite side of the canal. At this time these three boats were considerably in advance of the rest, and, as soon as the men were all landed, the boats were abandoned, and the guns left behind. The launch and pinnace, which were behind them, as soon as they saw the disaster, and that to advance further would only expose themselves to a destructive fire, without the possibility of returning it with effect, stopped under cover of some buildings, which sheltered them from the city walls.

The officers and men who belonged to the advanced boats, having many of their comrades wounded, were now in a trying predicament. The only alternative left was to endeavour to join the other boats which had remained under cover; to do which they had to pass across an open space by the side of the canal, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy from the walls on the opposite side. This was, however, effected without further loss, although a heavy fire was opened on them, (but of course at a greater distance than when in the boats.) Some of the wounded were necessarily left behind, and were kindly treated by the Chinese people in the suburbs, who shewed no hostility. As it was evident that nothing further could be attempted at present, they all returned down the canal in the launch and pinnace, and reported the circumstances to Captain Richards, of the Cornwallis, to which ship the rest of the wounded were immediately removed.

Captain Richards lost not a moment in landing with 200 marines, at the entrance of the canal, where he was joined by about 300 men of the M.N.I., under Captain Maclean, of that corps, and then pushed through the suburbs towards the city walls; at the same time the whole of the boats of the Cornwallis, under the command of Lieutenant Stoddart, advanced by the canal, in company with the remaining boats of the Blonde, to bring off the boats and guns which had been left behind. They were also to endeavour to check the fire of the Chinese at the west gate, when Captain Richards advanced through the suburbs to escalade the wall.

As soon as Captain Richards had landed, he was joined by Captain Watson and Mr. Forster, (master,) of the Modeste, with a boat's crew and a small body of marines belonging to that vessel. On reaching the foot of the walls, a heap of rubbish was luckily found to have been left by accident not far from the gate. Upon this the ladders were planted by Captains Richards and Watson,

under cover of the fire of the Marines, in face of a large body of Tartars, who lined the walls, and appeared determined to defend their post to the last. These two officers, together with Lieutenant Baker, of the Madras Artillery, and a private marine of the Modeste, were the first to ascend the ladders. As they got upon the wall (with much difficulty) they were directly exposed to the cross fire from the guard-houses over the outer and inner gateway, by which the marine was killed, and Captain Watson and Lieutenant Baker were wounded; the former having one of the buttons of his jacket driven into his side, and three balls passing through his jacket. The marine was killed by several shots passing through his body, and another marine, (also belonging to the Modeste), who followed afterwards, was severely wounded.

With great difficulty and exertion about a dozen men got upon the wall; and Lieutenant Fitzjames, having succeeded in bringing up some rockets, lodged one of them in a guard-house over the gateway, which immediately caught fire, and threw the enemy into such consternation that they then gave way. Captain Richards, (who had, as if by a miracle, escaped being wounded,) was now able to dash down, at the head of his men, into the open space between the two gateways; and, just afterwards, the outer gate was blown in, as before described, by powder-bags. The advanced guard of the 55th had in the mean while come round along the walls from their north-eastern angle, where General Schoedde's brigade had escaladed it, and had now reached the inner gateway.

The third brigade, under Major-General Bartley, accompanied by Sir Hugh Gough, and also by Sir William Parker, dashed in over the ruins of the gate, and, to their great disappointment, found that the walls had been already carried; but, within the city itself, the resistance of the Tartars was by no means overcome. Part of the 18th and 49th regiments, under Major-General Bartley, were now ordered to march along the western face of the walls, and they threw out a line of skirmishers as they advanced along some ditches and old houses below the wall. As the brigade filed along the walls left in front, they suddenly received a heavy fire from a body of Tartars, by which two officers were killed and two wounded, and several men struck down. The leading division of the 49th immediately dashed down the ramparts upon the enemy's left, while the 18th pushed forward to turn their right. They were soon dispersed, although many of them fought with great determination. One company of the 18th pursued them into the Tartar city. In this spirited affair the 18th had one officer killed and one wounded, with about 20 men killed and wounded. The loss of the 49th was one officer

killed, one wounded, and about 24 rank and file killed and wounded.

In the mean time the Admiral, having put himself at the head of the seamen and marines, marched some way along the walls, where they had been already cleared by the 55th, and, as the heat of the sun at this time (past noon) was almost insupportable, he had directed the men to take shelter for a little while in one of the watch-houses upon the ramparts. The heat was quite overpowering, and the men being already much fatigued, several of them died from sun-stroke. Here it was that the gallant Major Uniacke, R.M., fell from the effects of the sun, and in the list of casualties of the day, no fewer are included than 16 men, who died from the same cause.

Having rested something less than an hour in the guard-house, a heavy firing was heard within the Tartar city, and the men were instantly formed, and advanced in the direction of the firing, under Captains Richards and Watson. On passing through a narrow street in the Tartar part of the city, a sudden fire was poured upon them by a body of Tartars drawn up across the street, behind a small gateway, where they seemed prepared to make a most determined stand. Several men were wounded, and it was necessary to advance with caution, taking advantage of shelter when it could be found. Here Lieutenant Fitzjames was wounded, while endeavouring to get a rocket off.

Captain Watson was now sent round by a side-lane, to endeavour to turn the flank of the Tartars. but there also the latter were prepared for them, behind a temporary barricade. However, a cheer, and a sudden rush from both divisions at once, upon the front and flank of the Tartars, carried the point, and the enemy were driven back with heavy loss, after shewing individual instances of the most desperate valour, in several hand-to-hand encounters. When the brave Tartars at length saw that their utmost efforts were of no avail, then began the scenes of horror, and the tragedy of self-immolation, which it makes every one's very blood run cold to hear of. The Admiral himself was a witness of what took place. Some of the Tartars kept the doors of their houses with their very lives, while others could be seen within, cutting the throats of their women, and destroying their children, some by strangulation, and others by throwing them into the wells. In one house, in particular, a Tartar was found in the act of sawing his wife's throat with a rusty sword, as he held her over the mouth of the well into which his children had been already thrown. He was shot before the deed was completed, in order to save the woman, who was immediately taken care of, and had the wound, which was not severe, tied up. Yet

the first use she made of her tongue, as soon as she could speak, was to utter the most violent imprecations upon the heads of the victors. The children who were in the well (in which there was little water) were all got up, and recovered.

In other houses, numbers of poor creatures were found dead, some by their own hands, or the hands of each other, and the rest by the hands of their husbands. In one house no less than 14 dead bodies were discovered, principally women; in others the men began to cut their own throats the moment they saw any of our soldiers approaching; while in other instances they rushed out furiously from some hiding-place, and attacked with the sword any one who came in their way. Several of our officers had to defend their lives with the sword, long after all systematic opposition had ceased. An officer of the 14th M.N.I. had a combat with three Tartars who rushed out upon him sword in hand, and by retreating so as to endeavour to take them singly, he was able to cut down two of them just when a fatal blow was about to be aimed at him by the third, who was fortunately shot at the very critical moment by a soldier coming up to his officer's assistance.

It is impossible to calculate the number of victims to the barbarous practice of self-immolation and wholesale murder. Chin-keang-foo was a Tartar stronghold considered by them as impregnable; they could not brook defeat, or the desecration of their hearths by the tread of the unknown but thoroughly-hated barbarian; every house had its victims; and, to add to the horrors of the day and the desolation of the city, the Chinese plunderers flocked in from the country in multitudes, pillaging in all directions. They even set fire to the streets in some parts, to enable them to carry on their work with less interruption in others.

On our side, although the place had been taken by storm, and not without heavy loss, the strictest orders were given to prevent pillage as much as possible. Measures were taken, not only to control our own men, (who. according to European custom, might have expected to be allowed to pillage a town taken by assault,) but also to arrest the violent proceedings of the Chinese rabble, who, in this, as in other instances, were the worst enemies of their countrymen. The authorities and nearly all the respectable inhabitants had fled; and the Tartar General (who had complained bitterly to the Emperor of insufficient means for defence) had set fire to his own house, and buried himself and part of his family in its ashes. Notwithstanding all the attempts to prevent the destruction of property, it was impossible altogether to arrest it in so large a city. Plunder was sometimes

taken from the *Chinese thieves outside* the town, and occasionally articles of value were thrown over the walls, because they were not allowed to be carried through the gates. In this way, plunder was sometimes obtained, and many ingenious devices were adopted to secure a few valuables; but nearly all the mischief was done by the Chinese themselves.

The public offices were taken possession of by our troops, and all the arms and warlike stores which were found were destroyed. Only sixty thousand dollars' worth of Sycee silver was found in the public coffers; but a little addition was made to the prize fund by the sale of articles which were taken from plunderers, when they were discovered trying to carry property out of the gates. The waste and destruction of property was, however, enormous. When more valuable objects were discovered, those of smaller value were left in the streets; costly furs lay strewed in all directions; silks and satins lay about in such profusion that the only difficulty was to choose among them. So little had the inhabitants expected that their stronghold would fall, that valuables of all kinds, gems, and gold ornaments, and curiosities of every sort, and in some instances even money, were left in the wardrobes of the best houses, at the mercy of the first comers. Under these circumstances, it is surprising that so little plunder was carried away from a city taken by assault.

Terrible as was the downfall of Chin-keang-foo in the eyes of the Chinese, and great as was the desolation throughout the city in every direction, it cannot be doubted that the loss of this important Tartar stronghold, and the panic created by it, (the whole trade of the country being at the same time suspended,) contributed very materially to produce in the mind of the Emperor and of his ministers the conviction that a speedy peace, on any terms, was preferable to a continuance of the war.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Although the Tartar troops had proved themselves a formidable enemy at Chin-keang-foo, and the loss sustained on our side had been much greater than in any previous encounter, a far more dangerous enemy soon began to show itself. Cholera and low marsh fever now made their appearance, and carried off a great many men, particularly among the new comers. The 98th regiment, recently arrived from England, suffered perhaps more severely than the rest; but, in reality, every ship, whether

a man of war, or belonging to the transport service, had numerous sick on board; and some of the transport ships were at length scarcely manageable, owing to the shortness of hands. Neither was the sickness limited to one part of the river more than another; for the North Star, and the French frigate, Erigone, which were at anchor at Woosung, were quite as much afflicted by it as the rest of the squadron higher up the river. Nor did it begin to diminish until cool weather set in, and the fleet gradually withdrew out of the river, after the peace. Many a brave man, too, suffered from its effects for months after leaving the country; and the officers were not more exempt than the men.

We may next inquire what was doing elsewhere by the naval branch of the expedition, particularly by the advanced squadron higher up the river, during these operations at Chin-keang-foo. The great object in view was to stop the entire trade through that part of the country, which, having numerous branches of the Grand Canal passing through it, or at all events being intersected by several canals having communications with the great one, may be considered as a centre of commercial intercourse with some of the most important provinces of China. The annual grain-junks had already passed up the canal towards Pekin; but the importance of this great commercial highway (if a canal may so be called in a country where the only means of transport is by water) may be estimated from the fact, that in the course of a few days seven hundred trading junks were stopped; by which means no less panic was created throughout the country, far and near, than by the successes of our arms.

There are at least three principal communications between the Yangtze-Keang and the southern portion of the Grand Canal, of which, perhaps, the largest passes along the western side of the walls of Chin-keang-foo, through the suburbs of that city. It runs very near the west and south gates, where it is crossed by stone bridges, which, of course, impede the navigation for large junks. In its narrowest part, where it is contracted by stone buttresses, it is about twenty feet broad; but, in other parts, it varies from seventy to eighty feet in breadth, with very high, steep banks, and with a depth of water varying from nine to fifteen feet. These observations were made by Captain Grey, of the Endymion.

The communications on the northern side of the Yangtze-Keang are much more numerous, and the main canal becomes much larger and finer. The principal branch of communication opens about a mile above Golden Island; but there are, in fact, so many openings, and such numerous cross-lines running from

one branch to another, that the whole of this part of the country resembles a net-work of water-courses. It is in reality, so little above the level of the river, that it is entirely laid out in paddy-swamps, which are only separated from the various canals by embankments artificially made, and which form the only roads or footways.

The main canal itself, on that side, varies from eighty to one hundred yards in width, and has a fine towing-path, running along upon the top of the embankment by which its waters are confined. A few junks had been sunk at its entrance, and barriers had also been formed in other branches, in order to impede the navigation, in case our small steamers should attempt to ascend them. At the time our forces were in the neighbourhood, the waters were evidently much higher than usual; the paddy-fields were deeply inundated, although the rice was cutting; and some of the villages and courts of the joss-houses were flooded. Shortly afterwards, while our squadron was lying off Nankin, the river overflowed its banks so extensively, that the Chinamen were obliged to move about in boats from house to house in the suburbs; and great distress arose, both from this cause and from the entire stoppage of trade in the river. A country so subject to inundations, and intersected as it is by canals in all directions, cannot but be at times extremely unhealthy; and it is not to be wondered at that sickness should have broken out extensively, among a body of foreigners long confined on board ship. We shall presently allude to the sickness prevailing among the Chinese themselves in the neighbourhood of Nankin, which may, in some degree, account for the great falling off in its population.

From what has been said of the numerous openings and communications of the Grand Canal, it is evident that it would require a considerable force to establish an efficient blockade. But not only was it necessary to stop the trade, but also to take measures, at the same time, to prevent the panic among the people from reaching such a pitch as to drive them away from their homes, and leave the country at the mercy of the rabble and of the lawless plunderers who flock into the towns from all parts, causing uneasiness even to the government.

The Blonde and Modeste, together with the Proserpine, were placed so as to blockade the two principal entrances of the canal immediately above Chin-keang-foo, two or three days before the town was taken; while the Nemesis and the Queen steamers, having the Plenipotentiary and Captain Bourchier on board, proceeded some miles higher up the river, until they suddenly discovered a large fleet of not less than 300 trading junks. These

were all ordered to drop down immediately to Chin-keang, where they could more easily be prevented from making their escape. A number of papers written in Chinese were distributed among the captains of the junks, telling them that no harm would be done to them, but their vessels must be detained. The Plenipotentiary immediately returned to Chin-keang-foo, and Captain Hall with the Nemesis was left to hasten the departure of the junks, which were made to get under way at once. A grand scene of confusion followed, as they were crowded together, and all were glad to be allowed to get away from the steamer without molestation. They were afterwards brought-to in one of the branches of the southern canal, just above Golden Island, and, for some time, were under the charge of the Proserpine steamer, Commander Hough.

A few miles up the branch of the canal near the mouth of which this large fleet of junks was discovered, was situated the third-class town called Esching, distant about 12 or 14 miles from Chin-keang. The approach of the Nemesis and the detention of the junks caused so much consternation, that in the evening a respectably-dressed Chinaman, who, from the authority he was afterwards found to possess, must have been a mandarin of some rank, came down to the steamer, bringing a few trifling presents of tea, &c., as a means of introduction. His object evidently was to ascertain whether there was any intention of taking possession of the town; and, if so, to endeavour to avert the calamity by the offer of a ransom.

Supplies of fresh provisions were at this time greatly wanted in the fleet. Many ships, particularly transports, had not been able to procure fresh meat or vegetables for a considerable time, and the sick were consequently deprived of what was most essential to their recovery. This opportunity of procuring supplies was not to be neglected. The Chinese gentleman and his attendants were conducted over every part of the steamer, with which they were evidently much surprised, but above all with the engines. He was soon made to understand that if he promised to send down abundant supplies, all of which would be equitably paid for, no harm whatever would be done to the town or its inhabitants; but that no trading junks could on any account be permitted to pass up the river, or through that branch of the canal. A demand for 20 bullocks was made, and they were to be delivered on the following day. This was declared to be impossible—so many could not be found; however, he was quietly told that they *must* be forthcoming, and that ten dollars would be paid for each of them. Late in the evening the party of Chinamen returned to the town, apparently quite satisfied with the civility they had

received, and equally convinced of the formidable character of their new visitor.

On the following morning, the 19th, the same people again came on board very early, bringing with them vegetables and fruit, and remained some hours, while the Nemesis was chasing the junks, which were continually coming into view as she proceeded, and were naturally trying to make their escape. There were two interpreters (Chinamen from Canton) on board, who hailed them to bring-to, telling them that they would receive no molestation if they went quietly *down* the river. But some of them persevered in their attempt to escape, and, when two shots across their bows failed to bring them to, a third was invariably fired into them, which soon had the desired effect. One or two Congreve rockets frightened them still more, and at last they were all brought-to in great consternation. The Chinese visitors, who were on board all this time, were much astonished and bewildered, but were not prevented from making a good breakfast, nevertheless.

A short distance further up the river, they fell in with several junks laden with coal, but abandoned by their crews. Some of them were soon driven on shore at different points, where they could not easily be got off, in order to serve as coal depôts for the steamer, and one of the largest was lashed alongside and taken in tow, while the Nemesis still continued her pursuit of the other junks up the river; one part of her crew being occupied in "coaling" from the junk, and the other at quarters, occasionally firing a shot across the bows of any junk that refused to bring-to.

Coal is found in great abundance in China. Indeed, it is difficult to say what is *not* found there: gold, silver, iron, copper, zinc, coal, in short, all that is most requisite for a commercial and manufacturing people. Coal is known to exist in abundance in the gulf of Pechelee; it is found in the province of Che-keang, and in almost every town visited by the expedition it was exposed for sale in greater or less quantity. At Nankin, immense heaps of it were found stored up by the river side, and divided into three qualities, separated from each other. That which answered best for steaming purposes had a less promising appearance than the other qualities. It looked slaty, but was found to burn better than the Indian coal, and our steamers all found it to answer well. Probably, if the mines were worked to a greater depth, a better kind of coal would be found.

About a mile and a half above the lower branch of the canal leading up to Eshing, another larger branch was discovered, which joined the first a little below the town. On the evening of the 19th, the Dido and Childers arrived, and joined the Nemesis;

the former, commanded by the Honourable Captain Keppel, who was now the senior officer, was stationed off the upper branch, while the latter blockaded the lower. Captain Hall immediately presented to Captain Keppel the Chinese gentleman, or, in reality, mandarin, who had hitherto been so polite and attentive; and the assurances previously given were reiterated, that no harm would be done to the town or the neighbouring country, if abundant supplies were brought down. The same evening they went up the canal in three boats to the town, where they were very politely received by the same Chinaman. He appeared to possess great authority over the people, who obeyed every direction he gave. At first they looked on in half stupid wonder, but were evidently reassured when they were told that nothing would be demanded but supplies of meat and vegetables.

On the following day, the Chinaman again came down to the Nemesis, bringing with him all the gentlemen of his family, in order to show his confidence, and at the same time invited Captain Keppel, Captain Hall and other officers to visit him at his house in the city, and proposed to give them an entertainment at a joss-house ashore. He even hinted that he would *introduce them to his wife*.

Arrangements were now made for establishing a regular market in the courtyard of the large joss-house, which stood close to the landing-place at the mouth of the canal. The man scrupulously kept his word; supplies in great abundance of every kind were brought down for sale, and the sight of dollars soon overcame the Chinamen's fears. In fact, they reaped a good harvest. These supplies were all sent down to the fleet at Chin-keang as fast as they could be procured, Chinese boats or small junks being employed to convey them, escorted by a boat alternately from the Dido and the Nemesis, to ensure their safe delivery. Such was the result of conciliating the good-will, and pacifying the fears of the Chinese.

For a moment the fears of the people were awakened by the accidental burning of some buildings at the mouth of the lower branch of the canal, where the Childers was stationed. But fortunately the Admiral came up in person, on board the Pluto, in the afternoon, to examine the river, and the assurance of protection, if abundant supplies were provided, being circulated among the people by a written paper or chop in the Chinese character, they resumed their former confidence, and did not conceal their delight. This was the evening before Chin-keang was taken.

The next day, the 21st July, the Chinese gentleman and his attendants, according to previous invitation, came down to conduct the officers to his house in the city, situated four or five miles up

the canal. It is not a little singular that, while one party of our countrymen were partaking of Chinese hospitality, upon the most friendly terms, in the centre of a considerable town, the rest were engaged in deadly hostility, fighting for hearth and home, in a city only a few miles distant. Although the distance from one to the other by the river cannot be less than 12 or 13 miles, it must be very much less in a direct line by land, as the firing was distinctly heard. On coming on board to fetch the officers who were invited to the entertainment at his house, the unhappy Chinaman burst into a flood of tears, and soon made them understand that his wife had run away from him, the moment it was announced that they were coming to pay her a visit. Probably tidings had already been brought of the commencement of the attack upon Chin-keang; nevertheless, on reaching the town, there were no indications of alarm among the people; they crowded round in all directions, out of mere curiosity; the shops were not closed, and business did not appear to be interrupted.

A proclamation was distributed as the party proceeded, announcing to the inhabitants that all supplies would be scrupulously paid for, and that no injury would be done to the city. The best interpreter was found to be a little Chinese boy, an orphan, only ten years old, who had been several months on board the Nemesis, having been almost adopted by her commander, after the death of his father, who was killed at Chusan. In this short time he had picked up English in an astonishing manner. His extreme youth was a guarantee for his honesty; and, at last, the Chinese gentleman carried on all his conversation through this interesting child; declaring that the little fellow spoke truth and could be depended on, but that the two Canton interpreters perverted what was said, by purposely translating it wrongly, to suit their own purposes, and with a view to extort money. The Chinese gentleman's house was situated in the very heart of the city; it was a very respectable mansion, with courts and buildings of great extent, ornamented with carved wood-work, similar to most other respectable houses of its class. All the relations and friends of the family had been invited on the occasion, refreshments were handed round, but no females made their appearance. At length, the master of the house was resolved to drown his sorrows for the loss of his wife, by the delicious enjoyment of his opium-pipe, which soon revived his drooping spirits.

The return of the party through the streets towards the boats was the occasion of greater movement among the people than before. As an additional mark of respect, two well-dressed persons accompanied each of the officers, one on either side, *fanning* them as they went, for the day was extremely sultry. Another enter-

tainment was given to them in the joss-house, at the mouth of the canal, where the market was held; and, in short, nothing was omitted on the part of the Chinese, to show their confidence and their wish to cultivate our good-will.

On the following day, the surveying vessels, Starling, Plover, and Medusa, having on board the masters of the fleet, joined the advanced squadron under Captain Keppel, bringing the first intelligence of the fight of the previous day.

We must now return for a moment to Chin-Keang, which we left in the last chapter in the possession of our troops, the greater part of which were already preparing to move up towards Nankin. Another attempt was now made by the Chinese commissioners, Keying and Elepoo, to open negotiations with the Plenipotentiary; but, since they did not even now produce full authority from the Emperor to treat for peace, no other than the answer they had previously received could be given.

It has before been mentioned that the Tartar general, Hailing, when he saw that all was lost, set fire to his house, and burned himself to death in it. His wife and his grandson shared the same fate; at least so it would appear from the orders issued afterwards by the Emperor, whose mandate was sent to Keying, "that he should despatch messengers to make diligent search for their bodies, in order that great honours might be conferred upon them. Such loyalty and devotion are worthy of the highest praise!" A temple was also ordered to be erected to his memory, as soon as the war should be ended, upon which his name, and also those of his wife and his grandson, were to be inscribed. Moreover, as soon as the prescribed period of mourning of 100 days should have expired, the whole of his sons and daughters were to be sought out, and conducted into the imperial presence. Such, then, are the rewards which the Emperor holds out to those who put an end to their own lives after a defeat.

Sir Hugh Gough, finding that it would take a much larger body of men to garrison the town than could be spared from his small force, and that, moreover, it could scarcely be considered habitable during the great heat, on account of the horrible stench proceeding from the dead bodies of the fallen Tartars, (principally by their own hands,) and from the stagnant water in the smaller canals, determined merely to occupy the heights commanding the city towards its north-eastern angle. Major-General Schoedde's brigade was to be left in charge of the place, together with a detachment of artillery. In order to establish a direct communication between the heights and the city on that side, a portion of the wall was blown in, (with very large charges of Chinese powder,) and the rubbish removed, so as to leave a wide, free

opening into the city. The whole line of parapet on that side was demolished. Another hill commanding the southern entrance to the Grand Canal was to be occupied. The troops left behind were quite sufficient to hold these positions against any force the Chinese could bring against them after their late defeat. It consisted of the 55th regiment, and one company of the 98th, with the 2nd and 6th M.N.I., with Artillery and Sappers.

Perhaps the most curious object discovered in Chin-Keang, and which has excited many ingenious speculations as to the ancient progress of the Chinese in many of the useful arts, was a small pagoda *made entirely of cast iron.* Some have called it Gutzlaff's Pagoda, for he is said to have been the first to find it out; and it excited so much attention, that the question was at one time mooted, as to the possibility of taking it to pieces, and conveying it to England, as a remarkable specimen of Chinese antiquity. Nor would this have been at all impossible; for, although it had seven stories, it was altogether little more than 30 feet high, and each story was cast in separate pieces. It was of an octagonal shape, and had originally been ornamented in high relief on every side, though the lapse of ages had much defaced the ornaments. It was calculated by Mr. Gutzlaff, that this remarkable structure must be at least *twelve hundred years old,* judging from the characters still found upon it. Whatever its age may be, there can be no question that it proves the Chinese to have been acquainted with the art of casting large masses of iron, and of using them both for solidity and for ornament, centuries before it was practised in Europe.

On the 2nd of August, the preparations for the advance of the forces upon Nankin were completed, the surveying vessels having already preceded the squadron. The principal difficulty which remained to be overcome was the great force of the current, which it required a strong favourable wind to enable the ships to stem. Indeed, without the assistance of steamers, it is doubtful whether all the ships could have got up. On the 5th, the General reached Nankin in the Marion transport, towed by the Queen steamer, having the Plenipotentiary on board. On the following day, the Admiral got up in the Cornwallis, with some other vessels, but the whole of the squadron did not join until the 9th. The Nemesis attended a part of the fleet, to render assistance wherever it was most required, particularly in getting off the transports which took the ground—a service requiring no little judgment and perseverance. Just below Nankin the river takes a very considerable bend, its former course having been nearly east and west, while it now turns nearly due south until it has passed Nankin. There is, however, a cut, canal, or creek, at all events, a

water passage, which cuts off this bend, of course materially shortening the distance, which from point to point is about ten miles round, and only six miles by the cut. The passage, however, is narrow; but the Nemesis, taking in tow one of the transports, found her way safely through it.

On the 10th, the proper positions were assigned to the ships, in case it should be necessary to bombard the city. The nearest point of the walls to the river was about 700 yards, and the nearest gate about 1000. The Cornwallis, Blonde, and heavy steamers were placed so as to breach the walls, if required.

Already before leaving Chin-keang, a regular summons had been sent up to Nankin, addressed to Niew Kien, the viceroy of the province. It was hoped that by these means bloodshed might be avoided. As soon as the forces arrived before the city, it was determined that the troops should be landed without delay, with a view to make a strong demonstration, and there was some reason to think that this would be sufficient to decide the wavering counsels of the Chinese, without further resort to arms; and, at all events, it was requisite to support our demands by a show of the means of enforcing them.

A memorial was intercepted, addressed to the Emperor by the Tartar general commanding at Nankin, boldly announcing the defeat and dispersion of the Chinese troops, and the imminent danger of even Nankin itself. It was evident that great alarm was felt, and that a general desire to stay hostilities had got the better of all their hatred of the foreigners. The entire stoppage of the trade of that part of the empire and the distress resulting from it tended very materially to promote this desirable object.

The venerable Elepoo had arrived at Nankin nearly at the same time with Sir Henry Pottinger; and very soon afterwards, Keying, the other Imperial Commissioner, a member of the Imperial house, sent expressly from Pekin, joined his colleague. Various messages and writings now passed between the Governor of Nankin, Niew Kien, and the Plenipotentiary, in which, among other things, a heavy ransom was offered for the city. In short, the grand effort of the Chinese authorities was to gain time, to defer the evil hour of absolute concession to our demands, and to put us off in some way or other for the moment, as they had formerly done at Canton, without committing themselves to a final settlement of affairs.

Fortunately, they had a man of determined energy and statesmanlike qualities to deal with, in Sir Henry Pottinger; one who took a broad, defined view of all the questions involved, and who would not swerve for a moment from what he considered just

demands that were capable of being enforced. All the astute efforts of the Chinese to temporize, to *shirk* the main question, to save their own dignity, and to withhold what was due to that of their opponents, were promptly and energetically met. With all the honour which we justly accord to the naval and military operations of the war, with all due consideration for the diplomatic difficulties which had hitherto beset our efforts to make an equitable adjustment of the pending disputes, we cannot but concede to Sir Henry Pottinger the well-earned palm of praise and eminence for the consummate tact and skill with which he conducted the difficult negotiations at Nankin to a speedy and successful issue.

It is not necessary, nor indeed would it be an easy matter even for one initiated into the secrets of the diplomatic correspondence which followed, to describe all the attempts at evasion which were made by the Chinese, and the cunning with which they at first endeavoured to arrogate to their Emperor and to themselves superior titles of distinction and precedence. Even when it was announced that the High Commissioners, Elepoo and Keying, had arrived, with full powers under the imperial pencil to treat upon every subject, it was no easy task to bring them to straightforward matters of business, or to force them to produce the actual instrument of authority which they professed to possess. The landing of the troops, however, and the earnest preparations which were made for storming the city, tended to bring them speedily to their senses.

After deducting the garrison left at Ching-keang, and the sick remaining on board the transports, the actual force at Sir Hugh Gough's disposal for the attack of the city amounted to about 3400 men, exclusive of the officers; a force sufficient for the easy attainment of the object itself, but very small indeed for the duties likely to be required of it, when once in possession of the city. Sickness would very soon have greatly reduced the number of effective men; and although they would, in case of need, have received accessions, by the addition of the marines and seamen of the squadron, still there were even at that time so many sick on board the ships, that it would have been very difficult to make any calculation as to the number which would have remained fit for service at the end of a couple of months. The waters of the river were exceedingly high; in many parts the banks were overflowed in the neighbourhood of the city, and fever and cholera were the most dangerous enemies to be apprehended. In every point of view, it is a matter of the greatest congratulation, not only that the war was so soon brought to a close, but

even that our forces were not detained for any great length of time at Nankin.

The position of Nankin is evidently well chosen for that of a great capital; but the city is greatly fallen from its ancient importance and extent. There are remains of an ancient or outer wall, which can be traced over hill and dale for a distance of not less than 35 miles. The Chinese have a saying, that if two horsemen start at daybreak from any given point of the walls, in opposite directions, and gallop round them, they will not meet until sunset. But this must be a regular *Chinese* gallop, and not exactly that of an English hunter. How much of this immense space was in ancient times occupied by houses, it would be difficult to determine. The walls of the present city are not nearly of so great an extent; and of the actual space enclosed within them, a very small portion indeed, perhaps not exceeding an eighth part, is occupied by the actual town.

Here again, as at Chin-keang and Chapoo, the Tartar city is separated from the Chinese part by a wall and gates running across it;—so carefully have the conquerors preserved their broad line of distinction, in person, habits, mode of life, and privileges, even in the ancient capital of the empire. The great extent of the walls, even in the present day, rendered the city ill calculated for defence, independently of its even being commanded by hills, particularly on its eastern side. The principal of these was called the Chungshan hill, the base of which commanded the ramparts, and from the summit of which there was a magnificent prospect over the whole surrounding country, including the city itself. It was principally from this, the eastern side, that the chief attack was to have been made, had it been necessary to resort to extremities. There were three gates in that face of the walls, which run very irregularly, and towards the river are almost inaccessible, owing to the swampy nature of the ground: a considerable lake occupies the space between two of the gates. The latter are, however, approached by good causeways, by which they might easily have been threatened, while the real attack would have been made higher up, under cover of the guns planted upon the slope of the Chungshan hill.

The greater part of the troops were landed at a village about four or five miles up the creek or short cut before described, because there were good causeways leading directly from that point towards the city. The Nemesis was able to land at one time not less than 1000 men, and, in case of absolute necessity, could have contrived to carry at least 150 more.

On the opposite, or western side of the city, there was a large

canal running from the river directly up under the walls, and serving to strengthen the approaches to them on that side. The mouth of this canal was completely stopped up by very strong rafts, firmly secured. They were, moreover, constructed in such a manner that there were, in fact, a succession of rafts, one above another. On removing the upper tier, another lower one immediately rose to the surface; and, as they were made of stout timbers, well secured together, they effectually prevented our boats from getting up the canal. Upon the top of the rafts, little huts had even been erected, in which a few poor fellows were living, but apparently not with any purpose of defence.

At daylight, on the 14th, the attack was ordered to be made upon the city, all being now in readiness, and the guns in position. Due warning was finally given to the Commissioners, that nothing could delay or suspend the attack except the production of the actual document itself, of the contents of which they had hitherto only given a very partial account. It was not until past midnight, *scarcely more than three hours* before the artillery would have opened, and the assault taken place, that the Commissioners at length yielded, and sent a letter, addressed to Sir Henry Pottinger, promising the production of the all-important document at a meeting to be arranged for the morning, and entreating that hostilities might at least be delayed until that time.

This was a moment of intense excitement to all who were acquainted with the circumstances. The attack was of course delayed, but it was doubted by many whether some new pretext would not still be found to delay or to break off the negotiations, and render the capture of the city inevitable. However, the proposed meeting did take place at a temple on shore, in the southern suburbs of the city, near the canal; and at length, with great form and ceremony, the Emperor's Commission was produced, and carefully examined by Mr. Morrison, in the presence of Major Malcolm; and, at the same time, Sir Henry Pottinger's patent was likewise produced, and translated to the deputies who attended for the purpose on the part of the Imperial Commissioners. As yet, no personal interview had taken place between Sir Henry and the Commissioners. Matters now proceeded satisfactorily. It was evident that the Chinese were at length prepared to yield anything we might demand; their anxiety to put an end to the blockade of the river and the canal was not concealed; and it was said to be freely admitted that the people were in the greatest distress.

Three days afterwards, on the 17th, it was announced by Sir Henry Pottinger to the naval and military Commanders-in-chief

that the negotiations had arrived at that stage which authorized him to beg that hostilities might be considered suspended. Some little delay was necessarily occasioned by the time required and the difficulty experienced in translating the lengthened correspondence which took place. The distance, moreover, of the city from the ships, and the time necessary to receive and transmit the communications and their replies, tended to prolong the proceedings. Even in three days, however, the treaty was actually drafted in English and Chinese, (the latter a task of extreme difficulty, from the precision of terms necessary,) and the Commissioners acceded to the whole tenour and forms of a document of incalculable importance, not only to England and the other nations of Europe, but to the whole future welfare and progress of the Chinese empire.

Many days must have elapsed before the terms of the treaty could be made known at Pekin, and the assent of the Emperor be received. It might still have been doubted whether, even in the eleventh hour, the Emperor could bring himself to submit to the hard necessity of accepting terms which he had hitherto believed himself able rather to dictate to every other nation, or to grant as a matter of "especial favour" to submissive barbarians, than to receive from them as a boon.

The High Commissioners professed to be confident that all the provisions of the treaty would be assented to by the Emperor. They were extremely anxious to persuade Sir Henry Pottinger that the ships might safely be withdrawn from the river *at once*, even before an answer could be received from Pekin. Their great anxiety to have the blockade raised was by no means concealed; but the Plenipotentiary was far too clever a diplomatist to think of foregoing, for a moment, the immense advantage which the position of our forces already gave him, and the Commissioners were distinctly apprised that everything would still continue to be held in readiness for the resumption of hostilities, in the event of the Emperor's confirmation of the acts of his Commissioners being withheld. The report which was sent up to the Emperor by the two High Commissioners was certainly remarkable for its clearness and simplicity, compared with the tone usually adopted in Chinese documents. Indeed, it has generally been admitted that Keying was the first high officer who, since the commencement of the war, had dared to tell the naked truth to his imperial master.

The time which elapsed between the sending up of the draft of the treaty for submssion to the Emperor, and its return with the imperial assent, was partially occupied by visits of ceremony between the High Commissioners and the British Plenipotentiary.

On the 19th, the former paid their first visit on board the Cornwallis, having been conveyed thither from the mouth of the canal, on board the little Medusa steamer. They were received on board by the Plenipotentiary, supported by the Admiral and General, and, after having partaken of refreshments, were conducted round the ship, every part of which they inspected, but without *expressing* any particular astonishment, which in China is considered ill-bred.* The Commissioners were accompanied by Niew Kien, the Viceroy, and also by the Tartar General.

On the 22nd, the visit was returned by Sir Henry Pottinger, accompanied by the Commanders-in-chief, and attended by upwards of a hundred officers in full uniform. They were escorted by a guard of honour of the Grenadiers of the 18th Royal Irish. The place of meeting was at the temple outside the walls, at which the previous conferences respecting the production of the Imperial Commission had been held. It was an imposing and interesting scene; the number and variety of the costumes, contrasted with the uniforms of our officers, and the novelty of the spectacle altogether, could not fail to make a deep impression upon all present.

On the 26th, a conference was held *within* the walls of Nankin itself, between Sir Henry Pottinger and the Commissioners, and the terms of the treaty were again read and discussed. Sir Henry was escorted by a guard mounted upon the Arab horses brought from Madras for the artillery. Little could have been seen of the city upon this occasion, as the procession passed directly up to one of the public halls, and returned by the same route. The bearing of the people was perfectly quiet and orderly; and the mark of confidence on both sides shewn by the visit of the Commissioners on board the Cornwallis, and of the Plenipotentiary within the walls of the city, must certainly have tended to increase the mutual good understanding which it was now so desirable to cultivate.

At length, on the 29th of August, three days after the previous visit, the Emperor's full assent to the provisions of the treaty

* I have heard it said by some who were present on this occasion, that the Commissioners appeared more struck with the fact of *boys*, midshipmen, wearing uniform, and learning the art of war so young, than with anything else. I think it was Elepoo who had the curiosity to examine the dress of one of the youngsters; as much as to say, that he would be much better at school, imbibing the "doctrines of pure reason," than learning how to fight so young, on board a man-of-war. The same remark had also been made, on another occasion, by Keshen, at Canton, respecting the young Mr. Grey; and, I believe, a remark very much like it, was made by the grandfather of the present Emperor, to Sir George Staunton when a boy.

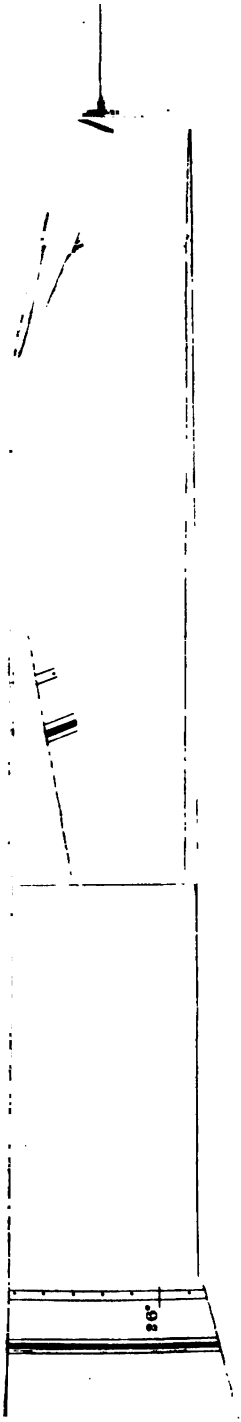
having in the meantime arrived, the ceremony of the actual signature of this most interesting document took place on board the Cornwallis. Every arrangement was made which could at all enhance the solemnity of the ceremony; and even the venerable Elepoo, though sick and very infirm from age and ill health, allowed himself to be *carried* on board, and into the after-cabin, rather than delay for a day the signature of the treaty. A great number of officers (all those having a rank equal to that of a field-officer) were admitted into the after-cabin, in order to witness the intensely interesting ceremony. Captain Hall was likewise permitted to be present, as a mark of especial favour, although not then of the prescribed rank.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The two most interesting objects outside the walls of Nankin are, the famous porcelain tower, or pagoda, and the tombs of the kings of the ancient Chinese dynasty. Of the former it would be extremely difficult to give such a description as would convey to the reader's mind an accurate idea of its peculiar structure and character. It stands pre-eminent above all other similar buildings in China for its completeness and elegance, the quality of the material of which it is built, or rather with which it is faced —namely, variously coloured porcelain bricks, highly glazed; and for the quantity of gilding, and particularly of gilt images, with which its interior is embellished.

The building is of an octagonal shape, about two hundred feet high, divided into nine stories. The circumference of the lower story is one hundred and twenty feet, so that each face must measure about fifteen feet; but this measurement decreases as you ascend, although each story is of equal height. Its base rests upon a solid foundation of brickwork, raised about ten feet above the ground, and you ascend to the entrance of the tower by a flight of twelve steps. Its face is covered with slabs of glazed porcelain of various colours, principally green, red, yellow, and white; but the whole building is not, by any means, constructed with porcelain. At every story there is a projecting roof, covered with green-glazed tiles, and from each of its eight corners is suspended a small bell.

The effect of this building, when viewed from a moderate distance, is imposing, no less from the novelty than the peculiarity of its appearance. You ascend to the top of it by one hundred and ninety steps, leading through the different compart-



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ments, but they are not all in very good repair. The interior of each story appears at first view striking, but is rather gaudy than elegant, being filled with an immense number of little gilded images, placed in niches, in each of the compartments, between the windows.

The view from the summit of this temple amply compensates you for the trouble of reaching it, and for any little disappointment that may have been felt at the appearance of the interior of the building. The prospect extends over an area of nearly 30 miles, and a great part of this is enclosed within the ruins of a dilapidated wall. The country is beautifully diversified by hill and dale, and houses and cultivated grounds; but in some parts it looks almost deserted. Yet it cannot be viewed without great interest, not only from the appearance of the country, but from the associations connected with the locality and with the tower itself. This latter is said to have cost an immense sum of money (seven or eight hundred thousand pounds), and to have occupied nineteen years in its completion.

A not unnatural desire to possess specimens or relics, as mementoes of the first, and probably the last, visit to the ancient capital of the empire, led to a few instances of defacement and injury to some parts of the building, and to many of the figures within it. But the complaints made upon the subject afterwards by the head priest of the tower, or of the monastery attached to it, seems to have been a good deal exaggerated, probably in the hope of obtaining handsome compensation. It was notorious that a great part of the specimens which were carried away, were actually sold to visitors by the priests themselves. A complaint, however, was made upon the subject to Sir Henry Pottinger, and at his request measures were adopted to prevent any recurrence of the violence; and, indeed, with the laudable object of encouraging a good understanding with the Chinese, and of doing what, under the circumstances, appeared to be an act of justice, a considerable sum of money was paid over to the chief priest, or abbot, of the monastery, to be applied to the restoration and decoration of the building. It much exceeded the actual value of the damage done.

Another object of very great interest, which engaged attention at Nankin, was the large and extremely ancient cemetery, which apparently, without sufficiently well ascertained grounds, came to be called the Tombs of the Kings, supposed to be of the Ming dynasty. They were situated on the slope of the hills, at no great distance from the principal gate of the city, at the extremity of a fine paved road. But, perhaps, still more curious is the avenue of gigantic figures, most of them hewn from a solid piece of stone, which leads up towards the tombs. Nothing else of

the kind was seen in China, and they bore all the appearance of extreme antiquity; the grass grew very high among them, and served to conceal the fragments of some which had been broken. At some considerable distance from this alley of giants are a number of colossal figures of horses, elephants, zebras, and other animals, rudely executed and placed without any distinct arrangement. There is something peculiarly Egyptian in the appearance of them all, and one could rather imagine that the scene was laid in the vicinity of Thebes than under the walls of Nankin It tends, in some measure, to strengthen the opinion of those who have endeavoured to trace a connexion between China and Egypt, at a very remote period of their history.

Little remains to be said concerning the rest of the short period of the detention of our forces at Nankin. On the 15th of September, the Emperor's positive assent to the treaty, signed by his commissioners, on the 29th of August, was received at Nankin.

All were now anxious to quit without delay the river in which so many brave men had already found a grave, through sickness. Every ship was full of invalids; in many of them at least one-third of the crew were unable to work, and in some even more. The officers appeared to suffer equally with the men; and on this account some of the transports were in a pitiable condition. The recovery of the men was extremely slow, and, even after the fever was apparently cured, relapses were very frequent. There are no means of ascertaining the actual number of deaths which occurred, but in some ships they were numerous. Among the troops, the 98th regiment and the Bengal Volunteers suffered the most; but the latter were affected more by their confinement on board ship, and by the voluntary starvation to which they submitted, on account of the prejudices of their religion, than by the mere effect of climate. They principally suffered from dysentery, occasioned by their abstinence from proper food. Most of them being Rajpoots, high caste Hindoos, they were prohibited by their superstition from eating any food cooked on board ship. Dry rice and gram (a shrivelled pea, of which sheep and cattle are very fond) constituted almost the only food they would eat, and edible tobacco their only luxury. Medicine could afford little aid to men under these circumstances; and they preferred death to the violation of their religious feelings; indeed it was not until the survivors reached Hong-Kong, and were sent ashore to live in tents, in order to be able to cook proper food for themselves, that they began to recover strength enough to enable them to support the remainder of the voyage to Calcutta.

While the Hindoos suffered thus severely, the few Mahommedans who were in the regiment escaped almost without sickness, and

there was scarcely a death amongst them. A finer regiment than the Bengal Volunteers, when they arrived in China only a few weeks before, 900 strong, could hardly be seen. They were even 750 strong when they landed at Nankin, after having been in action at Chin-Keang; and yet, when the regiment arrived in Calcutta, there were not 400 survivors. Indeed, there were little more than 300 upon the field when they were reviewed at Barrackpore, with the rest of the garrison, by Sir Hugh Gough.

Before leaving Nankin, the ceremony of conferring the order of the Grand Cross of the Bath upon Sir Hugh Gough was performed on board the Cornwallis, with all the attendant marks of honour. As it was directed that it should take place in the most public manner possible, the high Chinese officers were invited to attend, and every preparation was made to give *éclat* to the proceedings. Very few of the Chinese came to witness it, but a few were sufficient to make known to their countrymen generally, that great honours were conferred upon the English General, for his successes against their best troops.

Towards the end of September, the different transports and ships of war began to move down the river. The steamers were now almost entirely supplied with Nankin coal, immense heaps of which were found regularly stored up along the banks of the river, nearly in front of the city.

The descent of the river was in some respects more difficult for the squadron than the ascent, particularly as the buoys, which had been laid down to mark the channel, had been removed by the Chinese in the interim. Under these circumstances, and in the absence of proper charts of the river, it is highly creditable to the commanders of the transports that they all succeeded in getting down without any serious accident. Steamers generally went ahead, and gave the soundings by signal, notwithstanding which, most of the ships got aground several times. The weather was now very unsettled and hazy, as the north-east monsoon was just setting in, and this added, of course, to the difficulty.

The Plenipotentiary, together with the Admiral and General, paid a visit to Shangai, on their arrival at Woosung, and the arrangements respecting the ransom of the town, which was to be considered as part of the money paid under the terms of the treaty, were now completed, and the money was shipped; by this payment, the first instalment of 6,000,000 dollars was completed.

At the end of October the whole of the fleet had finally quitted the Yangtze Keang, and were assembled in the beautiful harbours of Chusan. I never remember to have witnessed so picturesque and striking a scene as was there presented to view. Both the

outer and inner harbours were crowded with men-of-war, transports, and steamers.

About the middle of November, nearly all our ships had reassembled at Hong-Kong. It was a most animated and bustling scene, and during the two or three weeks in which our forces were detained there, the Chinese reaped a rich harvest from the sale of their manufactures and curiosities, which were eagerly sought for.

From various causes, our forces were detained at Hong-Kong longer than had been expected, and in some respects it happened fortunately, although the weather had become excessively cold and trying for the men. On the 7th of December disturbances took place at Canton, which resulted in the total destruction of the old Company's factory, the Dutch factory, (occupied by American merchants,) and the adjacent extensive buildings, called the Creek Hong. As this event produced great alarm in the minds of the foreign residents in China, and even produced an impression on the minds of mercantile people, at a distance, who were, in consequence, led to doubt the practicability of maintaining peaceable relations with the Chinese for any length of time, some few details will be necessary.

The community of Canton differs in many respects from that of any other part of China. Long accustomed to a profitable intercourse with foreigners, and encouraged by their government to look upon them as an inferior, or, at all events, a less favoured race, arrogant also in proportion to their ignorance, they could not reconcile to themselves the advantageous terms which had been exacted as the price of peace from the Emperor; and, forgetting the numerous lessons they had been taught in the Canton river, they believed they could still have succeeded against the foreigner, had their professed patriotism been appealed to, and their proud spirit permitted to pour forth its vengeance.

It is also to be remembered that, in a large commercial city like Canton, a great number of bad and discontented characters are collected from all quarters. Its reputation for wealth made it a desirable field for the adventurer, while the prospect of the loss of a great portion of its trade, served to produce a general discontent among the residents. Every great change, however, is commonly attended with some difficulty at first, nor was it likely that the people of Canton could readily forget the day when our troops dictated terms for the ransom of the city, from the heights above it. Moreover, a great part of them really believed that they had been *betrayed*, and that treachery or bribery had been used rather to favour *us* than to spare the city; while they scarcely doubted that the large bodies of militia, or self-styled patriots, who continued to hover about the rear of Sir Hugh

Gough's army while upon the heights, would have sufficed to drive him back again to his ships.

For some days previously to the actual disturbances, there had been rumours of an intended rising against the English. Hints were given by some of the people of the establishments belonging to the Hong merchants, that something unusual would happen, and, in fact, that people were combining together, for no good ostensible purpose. I happened to be at Canton at the time, and could not help noticing the eagerness with which the crowds of passers-by were reading anonymous placards pasted upon the walls, in the narrow streets at the back of the Factories. These documents professed to publish the sentiments of the patriotic gentry and people belonging to the neighbourhood of Canton. They misstated the terms of the treaty, and asserted the belief that foreigners were hereafter coming to build houses for themselves at Canton, and to reside there *with their families*. This was, in fact, the great object of their dread, or, rather, this was the principal argument they used to endeavour to rouse the people generally to resist, "and not to allow a single foreigner to remain." The promiscuous *residence* of foreigners in China was certainly never contemplated by the terms of the treaty; though a support was given to this supposition of the Chinese, by the appearance of three or four English ladies (wives of captains of ships at Whampoa) in the streets of Canton.

I remember well what a sensation it created when these ladies were seen proceeding up China Street, accompanied by their children, and, of course, by their husbands. The novelty of their dress, and personal appearance was the least part of the business. It was an infraction of all the established usages of the Chinese; for not only had no foreign ladies been hitherto seen in the streets, but not even Chinese ladies are ever to be seen in public, except in sedan-chairs. On this occasion, the people offered neither violence nor insult, and, indeed, a few policemen were stationed close to the Factories, to prevent the pressure of the crowd. In the evening they embarked again in their boats, and proceeded down the river.

There is no question that this little incident had a very bad effect upon the feelings of the Chinese. As a proof of this, it is right to mention that the same persons again came up a few days afterwards, and resided with their husbands in one of the factories, and that *that very factory* was the first attacked, and, unquestionably, the object was to drive out the foreign ladies, as much as it was to plunder. They escaped, with the utmost difficulty and danger, by a back way, and were received into one of the Hong merchant's warehouses until they could be conveyed down

the river. But the mob destroyed and tore into shreds every article of their wardrobe which they could find.

In justice to the Chinese, and to the very proper and cautious measures adopted by Sir Henry Pottinger, this incident cannot be omitted. But the mob evidently had its leaders; and many of the people were said to be provided with little bags of gunpowder, for the purpose of setting fire to the buildings. There was, certainly, some preconcerted scheme or other, although the occurrence of the outbreak on that *particular day* was a matter of accident.

Disputes first arose in the early part of the day (7th December) between a number of Lascars, who were on leave from Whampoa, and some of the shopkeepers of Canton. The Lascars are generally allowed to trade a little on their own private account, and are in the habit of carrying back to India a great variety of articles of little cost, purchased in China. On this occasion, a very large number of them were allowed to come up to Canton together; hard bargains were driven, and, doubtless, there were faults on both sides. High words soon led to blows and squabbles in some of the back streets; the disturbance naturally increased by the accession of recruits to both sides, stones flew, and sticks were used, and at length the Lascars were driven out of the back streets into one of the unoccupied hongs, called the Creek Hong, which still remained unrepaired since the general pillage of the Factories in the preceding year.

For some time both parties remained quiet, and probably, those Chinamen who commenced the disturbance had little to do with what afterwards happened. Towards evening, numbers of suspicious-looking people began to collect together, in front of the Factories. Something serious was now anticipated, and the European residents began to barricade their doors and windows, and to endeavour to secure their books and treasure as well as they could. One of the first objects upon which an attack was made by the mob was the British flag-staff in the Company's garden, into which they forced their way. The staff was soon set on fire, (there was no flag,) and the blaze was followed by a general shout. The British factory, which was then undergoing repair, was the next object of violence. The workmen within it defended it for some time, but the mob at last got in, and were thus enabled to force their way from the balcony into the adjoining building, (formerly part of the Company's hong,) in which the ladies were staying with their friends. Fortunately, however, they had already been conveyed away to a place of safety.

Elated with success, the mob gradually attacked the other adjoining factories, particularly that which was formerly occupied

by the Dutch, but which was then rented by an American firm. Here a stand was made with fire-arms against the invaders for some time, and two or three of them were shot. At length, however, they prevailed; and the American gentlemen had a narrow escape in reaching their boats, but were able to save only a small quantity of the treasure. Gradually the crowd increased as the night set in; parts of the factories were already on fire, and if the wind had been high, instead of being nearly calm, it is impossible to say where the destruction would have stopped in a city like Canton.

It will be asked whether no attempt was made by the Chinese authorities to disperse the mob. For some time they seem to have been actually themselves *afraid* of encountering the mob; and a small party of police-runners and soldiers, who were sent down in the first instance, were said to have been driven off. It must not be supposed that all, or even a quarter part, of the foreign factories were burned down. None of the rest were injured, except those situated between Hog Lane and the Creek. Towards morning the mob began to be satiated with what they had done, and a large body of soldiers coming down into the square in front of the Factories, headed by their proper officers, soon managed to enforce quiet. They retained possession of the square, and pitched their tents, as if they were to be stationed there for some time.

The alarm created by these violent proceedings among the foreign community was, of course, very great, indeed. But whatever the plans of the Chinese may have been, the arrival of the Proserpine steamer on the following morning at Canton, tended very much to re-assure the European community. Sir Hugh Gough had requested to be conveyed in her to Canton, merely for the purpose of visiting the town, and it was quite a matter of fortunate accident that she arrived there just when she was most wanted. Communications passed between Sir Hugh Gough and the authorities, who gave every assurance of their desire to maintain tranquillity. But the difficulty was as to their *power* to carry out their own wishes It was doubted whether their soldiers could be depended on, and Sir Hugh Gough, therefore, acceded to the request of the merchants, to allow the Proserpine to remain off the Factories until communications could be received from Sir Henry Pottinger.

In every point of view this was now a very critical moment. A single false move, or one hasty step, would have led to collision and difficulty, and might have endangered the existence of the peace for which we had so long been struggling. The utmost caution and good judgment were required to allay the angry feelings on

both sides; and it would have ill become us to have assumed the appearance of almost inviting the renewal of a collision with a proud, susceptible government, when their high officers declared themselves "both willing and able to control their own people, and to protect foreigners."

The merchants at Canton addressed Sir Henry Pottinger, with a view to obtain from him protection for their persons and property while carrying on their trade at Canton; they expressed their firm belief that there was a prevailing spirit of hostility to the English among certain classes in Canton, by whom the mob were influenced, and that unless *armed protection* (amounting in reality to armed *intervention*) were afforded to them, it would be impossible for them to carry on their business, except through the means of American agency. And this kind of assistance was generally deprecated by the merchants, as tending not only to throw business into the hands of the Americans for the time, but also to establish it permanently in their favour, to the detriment of our own mercantile interests.

The reply of Sir Henry Pottinger to the merchants was a long and somewhat harshly-expressed document. It seemed to have been written on the spur of the moment, and amounted, in fact, to a *rebuke*, addressed to the merchants; part of which had little reference to the matter in question. The impression of the Plenipotentiary seems to have been that the *foreign* community were altogether in the wrong; and his Excellency certainly had in view the extensive, and one may almost say acknowledged, smuggling, not only of opium, but of every kind of exports and imports which were liable to duty, in the Canton river.

This was, undoubtedly, a critical moment of intercourse with the Chinese. Sir Henry Pottinger addressed a letter upon the subject to the Viceroy of Canton, and sent it up by the Nemesis. It would be difficult to say that this was not the wisest and most dignified course to pursue. If the Viceroy should declare either his inability or his unwillingness to protect the foreign community, then, indeed, would be the proper time for intervention, in order to secure to them that protection which they needed.

Captain Hall had previously gone up as a passenger in the Proserpine, with Capt. Hough, to Canton; but the moment it was ascertained that the Nemesis had passed the Bogue, in charge of his chief officer, he went down to meet her, and brought her safely up to Canton from Whampoa, through the passage between the stakes below Napier's fort, and then taking the left-hand passage by the low alluvial island. The Proserpine had previously, for the first time, been carried up the right-hand

passage. Both of these lead up to nearly the same point, opposite to the French Folly. Great was the rejoicing of all the foreigners at Canton, the moment they recognized their old friend the Nemesis approaching. And who that had once seen her could ever mistake her appearance, with her two huge eyes upon the bows, in true Chinese fashion!

On this occasion, the captains of the merchant-vessels at Whampoa handsomely volunteered to lend their services, if necessary. There was great uncertainty as to what might happen, and it was reported that an attempt would be made upon the steamer at night. It was not forgotten that on former occasions fire-rafts had been sent down the river to destroy the shipping, and it was necessary that the Nemesis and Proserpine should be prepared. The assistance of two boats only was accepted—one from the Inglis, under Capt. Isaacson, and another from the Edinburgh, under Capt. Paterson. Both boats were well armed and manned, and were of great use in guarding against a surprise.

Mr. Medhurst had come up in the Nemesis, as interpreter, in charge of Sir Henry Pottinger's letter to the Viceroy; and the question now was, to whom, or through whom, was it to be delivered? A great number of Chinese soldiers were encamped on the ground in front of the Factories, for the protection of the foreigners. They were evidently some of their best soldiers, for they were well dressed and properly armed. Each tent was appropriated to about six men; and one of their large, long shields, placed upright, served as a door to each; their arms were all in readiness, and sentries were placed. As for the men themselves, their only occupation or amusement seemed to be gambling all the day long.

At first the Hong merchants proposed to receive the letter, but that was, of course, objected to. Then the Kwang-chow-foo, or Prefect, wished it to be handed over to him on shore, but that was also refused. It was intimated that it could only be delivered to him on the quarter-deck of the steamer. At length a mandarin, who spoke a little English, having formerly been employed in one of the Hong merchants' establishments, came alongside, and proposed that Capt. Hall should go into the Prefect's boat and *there* deliver the letter, under the pretence that the Prefect was an *old man*, and could not get up the ship's side. All these were little attempts at evasion, to save his dignity. It was, however, insisted by Capt. Hall, that the Prefect should come on board the Nemesis, and *there* receive the communication, and he might bring as many of the Hong merchants with him as he pleased. At length, finding that nothing was to be gained by further delay, and that the days of paying court to the Prefect

were now long passed, he stepped upon the quarter-deck of the steamer, accompanied by most of the Hong merchants. They were all conducted into the cabin by Capt. Hall, and the letter was delivered in due form by him with an intimation that it was to be laid before the Viceroy without delay, and that a speedy answer was expected. They then requested that the steamers might be removed lower down, as their presence only tended to keep alive the excitement. This, however, could not be complied with. They denied, altogether, that a large body of troops were advancing towards the city, or that any violence or insult whatever was intended against the foreigners. However it was intimated that the steamers were fully prepared, and that their guns would be kept loaded, ready to meet any attack that might be made. The answer of the Viceroy was perfectly satisfactory; and that it was sincere, the event fully proved. He declared his great anxiety, as well as his perfect ability, to protect all foreigners; and, at the same time, expressed his readiness to repay all such losses as had been incurred during the late riots, after they should have been correctly ascertained, and statements transmitted through her Majesty's government.

There have been no grounds whatever for supposing that there will be any probability of another collision with the Chinese, to whose moderation and good faith, since the terms of peace have been settled, too much justice cannot be done. When we consider the wonderful changes which have been brought about in so short a period of time, and these, too, in the face of a nation the most proud, the most prejudiced, and the vainest in the world, we cannot but look back with wonder at all that has happened, and stand firm in our belief that Providence has yet greater things in store for China, mainly through the instrumentality of England.

A new era is undoubtedly now opened for the Chinese; new duties and new relations have been imposed upon them; but let us not forget, in the fulness of victory, and in the pride of the human heart, that new and highly important duties are imposed upon *us* also, not lightly to be thought of nor inconsiderately handled. We must take for our motto, forbearance, good-will, kindliness, honesty, and true Christian feeling. With these as our panoply, the benefit to be derived by both nations from the cautious, systematic, and prudent exercise of the duties imposed upon each, may become a blessing to both. Let it also be borne in mind, that qualities the reverse of these—overbearing violence, and, above all, undue love of gain—may entail, not only misery and the horrors of anarchy upon a people who proudly boast of their antiquity, and of their vast resources, but may also bring political difficulties, with loss of dignity and of high principle,

upon that little distant speck upon the earth's surface, yet that giant in the world's interest—Great Britain.

At the latter end of December, the whole of the transports and ships of war not required for further service in China sailed from Hong Kong for their respective destinations; and peace seemed now to reign throughout the whole of that vast portion of the Fleet.

The British squadron in China at the termination of the war, consisted of the following vessels;—

H.M. Ship	Cornwallis	72,	(Captain P. Richards) bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief.
—	Blenheim	74,	(Captain Sir Thos. Herbert, K.C.B.) bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Thos. Cochrane, C.B.
—	Vindictive	50,	Captain J. T. Nicolas.
—	Blonde	42,	— T. Bourchier, C.B.
—	Thalia	44,	— C. Hope.
—	Endymion	44,	— The Hon. W. F. Grey.
—	Cambrian	36,	— H. D. Chads, C.B.
—	Calliope	28,	— A. L. Kuper, C.B.
—	North Star	26,	— Sir James E Home, Bart.
—	Herald	26,	— J. Nias, C.B.
—	Dido	20,	— The Hon. H. Keppel.
—	Pelican	18,	Commander P. Justice.
—	Modeste	18,	— R. B. Watson.
—	Harlequin	18,	— Hon. F. Hasting.
—	Columbine	16,	— W. H. A. Morshead.
—	Childers	16,	— E. P. Halsted
—	Clio	16,	— E. N. Troubridge.
—	Hazard	16,	— C. Bell.
—	Wanderer	16,	— G. H. Seymour.
—	Serpent	16,	— W. Nevil.
—	Wolverine	16,	— J. S. W. Johnson.
—	Cruiser	16,	— J. Pearce.
—	Hebe	4,	— — Wood.
—	Algerine	10,	Lieutenant W. H. Maitland.
—	Royalist	10,	— P. Chetwode.
—	Minden, Hospital, Captain M. Quin.		
—	Belleisle, Troop ship — J. Kingcome.		
—	Apollo	—	Commander C. Frederick.

H. M. Ship	Jupiter Troop ship	Master Com.	G. B. Hoffmeister.
—	Rattlesnake	—	Jas. Sprent.
—	Sapphire .	—	J. R. Fittock.
—	Alligator . .	—	R. Browne.

SURVEYING VESSELS.

M.M. Schooner	Starling	—	Commander H. Kellett.
— Brig	Plover	—	— R. Collinson.

STEAMERS—WOOD.

H. M. St. Ves.	Driver	Commander — Harmer.
—	Vixen,	— H. Boyes.
H. C. St. Ves.	Ackbar,	Commodore J. Pepper, I.N.
—	Sesostris,	Commander H. A. Ormsby, I. N.
—	Auckland,	— R. Ethersey, I.N.
—	Queen,	Master Commanding, W. Warden.
—	Tenasserim,	— A. P. Wall.
—	Memnon,	Commander F. T. Powell, I.N.
—	Hooghley,	Master Commanding, — Ross.

STEAMERS—IRON.

H. C. St. Ves.	Proserpine,	Commander Hough, R.N.
—	Nemesis,	Lieut. W. H. Hall, R.N.
—	Phlegethon,	— J. J. M'Cleverty, R.N.
—	Pluto,	— J. J. Tudor, R.N.
—	Medusa,	— H. Hewitt, I.N.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Before daylight on the morning of the 23rd of December, the Nemesis was destined to take her departure from Macao, and probably to bid adieu to China for ever. It is not too much to say, that she was regretted by all. Before three o'clock she was under way ; and the discharge of a few rockets and the report of her guns gave notice of her departure to the still sleeping inhabitants, who were quite unused to the disturbance at that early hour in the morning. It caused some little alarm among the inmates of the houses on the Praya Grande, fronting the bay. But the

Governor, who resides there, had been previously told by Captain Hall, in a good-humoured way, that he must not be alarmed at a little noise during the night. When daylight broke, the Nemesis was out of sight of Macao.

As the extent of the wear and tear of the vessel, after three years' service of a trying kind, was not precisely known, it was not thought prudent to run out into the middle of the China Sea, during the strength of the monsoon. She therefore coasted along towards the island of Hainan, in order that she might be able to take shelter, if a gale came on. It was perhaps fortunate that she did so. The weather was extremely pleasant and warm, but looked unsettled. The appearance of the coast, as we ran along it, at the distance of five or six miles, was bold and mountainous, but not very fertile, as far as we could judge at that distance.

In the course of the day, we passed through a large fleet of fishing junks, dragging their huge nets before the wind. The Chinese fishermen did not appear alarmed at the approach of the steamer, and from one of them we procured an enormous fish, weighing no less than 88 pounds, and differing in appearance from any we had hitherto seen. It had a large flat head, but small mouth, and was of a greenish yellow colour. When dressed it was found eatable, but rather strong. We soon passed very near the curious conical rock, called the Mandarin's Peak or Cap, and kept the coast in view until dark. On the following day, the weather was extremely hazy and unsettled, and there was a heavy swell setting in from seaward. We had hoped to be able to land on Hainan on Christmas day, and to drink the health of absent friends on terra firma; but the hazy weather detained the vessel, and it was only as the night set in that she anchored in a fine sandy bay in seven fathoms water; the wind howled over our heads, and made it the more satisfactory that we had kept near the land.

As mention has been made of having passed through a fleet of fishing junks, it will be proper here to warn all vessels against being off their guard on such occasions. The fishermen along the whole coast of this part of China, as far as Canton, are rogues, pirates, smugglers—in short, ready to take advantage of any opportunity, honest or otherwise, of benefiting themselves. They will, perhaps, appear quite friendly at first; and if they then find that a vessel is not prepared to resist, or think that they could overpower her, the chances are that they will not hesitate to make the attempt, when least expected. Never trust yourself in a strange place ashore without *at least one* double-barrelled pistol in your pocket, and never admit a Chinaman on board (if a number of fishing-boats are about,) *on this coast*, without being prepared

to prevent treachery. This caution is not unnecessary to ordinary merchant vessels, because it commonly happens that, although they have arms on board, the ammunition can seldom be found when it is wanted in a hurry, and not unfrequently, when the barrels of the muskets are clean and the bayonets bright, the locks have no flints. It is at night that the Chinese would be most likely to make the attempt, and for this reason the opium clippers are always well armed and manned. This is found necessary for their own *protection*, and not, as many have supposed, to compel the Chinese to purchase the drug.

The bay in which we anchored was situated a little to the eastward of Liengsoy, or Tongsoy Bay, as laid down in the charts. On the following morning, as we proceeded towards the latter bay, Captain Hall could clearly distinguish a sunken reef, running out from the east point of it, to the distance of nearly a mile. At the extremity of it, numerous fishing-boats were busily occupied, and with some difficulty a pilot was procured from one of them, to take us into Liengsoy Bay. He was found of little use, as it was easy to make our way in without him; but he seemed highly pleased when a dollar was given to him, with a view to encourage others to come to the assistance of any other vessel that might require a pilot.

Liengsoy is a fine bay, perfectly sheltered during the north-east monsoon, but a little exposed to the south-west. From the depth of the bay, and from its being sheltered to the westward by a long chain of rocky mountains, it is well protected on that side, while the long reef forms a natural breakwater upon the east side. It is open only to the southward; and, from the height to which the sand is blown up on the northern beach, it is evident that the wind sets in sometimes with great violence.

At the extremity of the bay was a narrow opening, not very easily seen at a distance, which led into a large salt-water lagoon. We pulled towards it in the steamer's cutter, and soon discovered a small half-dilapidated stone fort, on the left hand, near which was a small government station, distinguished by its flag, but the inmates (although one of them, a fine stout fellow, was probably a mandarin) were very poor and humble. They invited us to land, and very civilly gave us tea, and let us smoke our cigars in their small dwelling, built of half mud, half mats, but more comfortable within than the exterior promised. Thence we walked along a fine sandy beach, bordering the lagoon, until we came to a tolerable village, situated in the middle of a fine cocoa-tree plantation. It appeared to be principally inhabited by fishermen—fine, stout, well-made people; and the large quantity of sharks' fins which were fixed upon stakes, and put out to be dried by the sun, along

the edge of the lagoon, sufficiently indicated the principal occupation of the people. The huts were built of coral, mud, and bamboo, and were ranged in long lines or lanes, and the people seemed generally well clothed and happy. The women were not secluded, but came out to look at our party, almost as freely as the men. All appeared good-humoured and well disposed, and offered us plenty of ducks, fowls, and pigs for sale. It was noticed that, even in this poor little fishing-village, people were seen reading or writing in almost every one of the little shops. As we left it again, the villagers amused themselves by letting off crackers in all directions—a Chinaman's delight. Numbers of the people followed us down to the boat again; and two or three rupees, distributed among the most deserving, put them all in a good humour.

We could not ascertain whether any river flowed into the lagoon or not, but no fresh water was seen, although, from the greater number of trees, and the appearance of vegetation at the upper extremity of it, about a mile and a half distant, we thought it probable that a small river opened into the lagoon.

Having rejoined the steamer, we stood out of the bay again, and, having rounded the western extremity, formed by the range of hills which run quite down to the coast, proceeded along shore for about a mile, until we entered another fine bay, remarkable for having three entrances, and called Galong Bay. The coast is extremely bold and rocky, covered with low, stunted shrubs, and there is deep water almost close in shore. Horsburgh's description and directions were found to be quite correct; except that the village of which he speaks could not be found anywhere at the present time. The bay is of great extent; and the two rocky islands, called the Brothers, between which are the channels leading into it from the westward, are bold and striking objects.

As we proceeded further into the bay, the appearance of its shores improved; the steep, picturesque mountains on all sides being clothed with wood from their summit to the water's edge. The only perfect shelter for ships from the south-west is under a low island, called Middle Island, inside the Brothers, where there is a fine, sandy beach, but not very deep water. Of course there is perfect shelter from the north-east, and you have always the advantage of three entrances into the bay.

Having steamed quite round the bay, the Nemesis went out again by the broadest passage, between one of the Brothers and the main island, and continued to coast along a bold, rocky shore, until we entered the beautiful bay of Yin-lin-kan. The entrance to this is not broad, but sufficiently so for ships to work in, and then it expands into a fine, bold bay, having plenty of

water in all parts. On proceeding to its furthest extremity, Captain Hall found the entrance of what Horsburgh calls a lagoon; at its entrance it has all the appearance of a lagoon, and it is not until you get up quite to its extremity, which you are able to do in boats,) that you find a river of tolerable size flowing into it.

The great bay or harbour of Yin-lin-kan is by far the best of all those that were visited on this coast. There is fine anchorage in smooth water, perfectly protected from all winds; indeed, the sea outside cannot even be seen when you are fairly inside the bay. Several large fishing-junks, of the better kind, were at anchor there; and the shores were bold and picturesque.

Having found our way into what appeared to be the mouth of the lagoon, it was determined by Captain Hall to stand in, if possible, to explore it further. The entrance was narrow, and the passage tortuous; but, by observing the character of the shores on either side, together with the varying shades of colour in the water, and with two good men in the chains, and one out on the jib-boom, the channel into it was found without much difficulty, the water being deeper than was expected. Fishing-stakes were seen in several places, so that it seemed probable that a town or village was not far off. The lagoon or expanded river, was now found to turn round to the right, or westward, and several small junks were at anchor near a few huts upon the shore. The appearance of the country was very peculiar, looking very like a flooded valley, about half a mile in breadth, the shores rising up on either side with a rather steep ascent, but leaving some low ground at the edge of the lagoon. The steamer continued to push her way on for about one mile and a half or two miles, through a narrow channel, until she had passed a double line of long fishing-stakes, one on either side. The water was now too shallow to proceed further, and the tide was falling, so that it was necessary to retrace our course into deeper water, where we anchored for the night.

On the following morning, at daylight, the weather being very unsettled and hazy, Captain Hall determined to take his cutter and pinnace, and proceed to the extremity of the lagoon, nearly a mile distant, in the hope of finding a river, or probably some town or village, not far off. The crews were well armed, in case of a surprise; and we also took our double-barrelled guns, in the hope of getting a shot or two at some game. As we approached the end of the lagoon, the water became very shallow, and the passage difficult to find. We saw what appeared to us to be deer and pheasant, in abundance, along the edge of the mountains, on

either side; but time was too precious, and the water too shallow, (it being quite low water,) to permit us to land where we most wished. At length, after carefully searching for a considerable time, we found a distinct entrance to a river, nearly at the right hand corner at the end of the lagoon. It was not easy to make it out at first, as the banks, which were low, were thickly covered with mangrove shrubs. The country expanded into a broad, open valley, beyond which well-wooded hills could be seen on every side. Cocoa-nut trees were growing in abundance; and here and there we could descry in the distance small rich, green spots of cultivated ground, which made us think that we should find inhabitants not far off. We had no difficulty in ascending the river, but discovered no habitations or appearance of cultivation on its banks. The bare roots of the mangroves on either side, standing out exposed into the river, served to shew by their marks that the water sometimes rose much higher than it then was, and that floods occasionally took place.

At the distance of about two miles from the entrance, we came to a narrow, wooden-plank bridge, close to which were two small junks, or decked boats. One of our boats was sent higher up to explore; but the river was found divided by a small island, a little above the bridge, and the water was so shallow that the pinnace could not proceed without difficulty. Accordingly, having left a part of the men in charge of the boats at the bridge, and another party, consisting of an officer and six men, being ordered to follow at an interval of less than half an hour, Captain Hall and myself, accompanied by four men, well armed, set out to explore the country. We soon fell into a well-beaten, sandy cart-track, which surprised us not a little, as we had hitherto seen nothing of the kind in China, though carts are in use in the island of Formosa; and it was also known that they are to be met with in the northern parts of China, in the neighbourhood of Pekin.

After pursuing our way along this sandy track for about a mile, we entered a fine cocoa-tree wood, with several neat little cottages built in the midst of it; and presently we heard a creaking or rather squeaking, noise, which seemed to be nearing us. It was soon found to proceed from three bullock-carts, rudely built of poles, covered round with matting, and drawn by buffaloes instead of bullocks. They had more the appearance of large bales of goods than of carts; the wheels were made of solid wood, and the axletree was fixed *in* the wheel, (as at Formosa), but turned round under the body of the cart, causing a loud, squeaking noise at each revolution. Several teams of buffaloes were passed, dragging timber down to the river-side; it must consequently be found in abundance in

this neighbourhood, and of good quality—an important consideration for ships driven into the bay of Yin-lin-kan by stress of weather.

We soon emerged into a fine, level, grassy plain; upon which, at intervals, clusters of shrubs and young trees were passed. Small green parroquets seemed to be very numerous. The soil, however, was poor and sandy; but the mountains which bounded the plain, or expanded valley, were covered with wood; while, lower down towards the river, (or what appeared to us to be its probable course,) grass-lands and paddy-fields varied the landscape. We were surprised, however, at seeing so few people; and, compared with China Proper, the country appeared to us very thinly populated.

The autumnal tints were still fresh upon the foliage, although it was past Christmas-day; and the variety of the trees, and the peculiar conical shape of some of the mountains, thickly covered with wood to their very summits, combined to give additional interest and novelty to the character of the country. Perhaps it struck us the more forcibly from being *different* from anything we had recently seen in China Proper. It was curious to notice the gradations of verdure, according to the height above the valley. At the bottom, everything was green and autumnal, at the top, it was all green and youthful, while between the two were all the intermediate stages. Here again we thought we could distinguish deer and pheasants in the woods along the mountain sides.

Gradually the plain became contracted, and we entered a regular sort of narrow cart-road, overhung with trees, and cut at least two feet below the surface, as if the better to give protection from the sun's rays. This soon led us to some rich paddy-fields in the neighbourhood of a village, around which were gardens planted with the sweet potato and other vegetables, and apparently cultivated with great care. The village, or rather hamlet, was very inconsiderable; and we passed on without halting in the hope of reaching some town of consequence. The valley continued to get narrower, and our road was now sheltered with trees.

A walk of about four miles further brought us to a very considerable village, where we halted for an hour, and took refreshment in a large public tea-shop. The villagers crowded good-humouredly round us, and betrayed little fear, although we were all well armed. We saw only two really *poor* people among them, and they looked as if they were just let out of prison. As usual, our dress, appearance, arms, and every little trifle we carried about us, attracted great attention and curiosity. They had probably never seen Europeans before; and when we fired off a musket to

please them, their astonishment was indeed great. Their wants were few, and the necessaries of life appeared easily obtained; there were some decent shops in the village, and, as usual, plenty of people who could read and write.

Altogether the whole appearance of the country gave one the idea of a newly-colonized spot. We saw no goats or cows, but plenty of capital pigs and poultry. We still thought that there might be some considerable town not far off; and by the help of a small vocabulary, written in Chinese, (which of course they were able to *read*,) we ascertained that there was one some miles off, the direction of which was pointed out to us. After some hesitation, we determined to proceed; and at length we reached the extremity of the valley, where there was merely a footpath, running sometimes between low hills, at other times through a dense scrub, until at length we crossed the bed of a river, with a fine rocky bottom and a rapid stream. Here we halted to refresh ourselves with a cool draught, when suddenly a whole posse of people descended the hill on the other side, and began to cross the river; some were carried in sedan-chairs, (mandarins probably,) some were led with chains round their necks, while others had chains round their legs; there were also several attendants: and one great man rode on horseback. They had almost reached the middle of the river before they observed us, and naturally looked somewhat alarmed at our appearance. We saluted them, and then passed on.

Our road now lay among hills, and the ground was broken and tiresome. We ascended one hill, which was paved all the way with large rough stones, and concluded that we *must* be near the town we were in search of; and the novelty of the adventure stimulated us to go on, although the heat was great, and we had still the whole distance to travel back again. We now ascended a steep eminence a little out of the road, from which we obtained a magnificent view of the country, with a fine plain just beyond the hills, bounded by the sea in the distance. We could see no town, but there could be little doubt that it lay somewhere in the beautiful plain beneath us.

Having regained the principal path, we proceeded some way further along the side of a wooded mountain, until we reached an inn by the road side. Here again we got tea, and smoked our cigars, on perfect good terms with the Chinese, our fellow-travellers. A consultation was now held. It seemed probable that the town we were attempting to reach was that of Lychew, upon the sea-coast, about ten or twelve miles from the capital of the island. The day was already far advanced, and we had still about twelve miles to get back again to our boats. Moreover

we thought it very likely that by returning at once we should meet the sedan chairs empty, and the horse without its rider, returning to the town, after having escorted their prisoners, and thus we should manage to get ourselves *carried* back to our boat. We determined, therefore, not to proceed further, although we much longed to descend into the valley beyond.

It surprised us that, considering we were without doubt the first Europeans who had been seen in that part of the country, the people shewed not the slightest rudeness or troublesome curiosity. They all seemed much more taken up with the appearance of one of the black Kroomen, who attended us, than with the Europeans.

After proceeding two or three miles on our way back, we met the sedan-chairs and the horse returning. We soon made them halt, and tried to come to terms for them to carry us all the way down to our boats. Captain Hall mounted the horse without any ceremony; but the poor fellows who had charge of it cried so lustily, and from their manner made us believe that they would be so terribly punished, that at last they were allowed to proceed unmolested. Next ensued a grand dispute about the sedan-chairs, rickety old things, made of bamboo; but we soon got into them, (there were only two), and held out a dollar; but, between fear and disinclination to the job, the men set us down, and left us in the lurch. However, as we kept possession of the chairs, we had the best of the bargain, though it was not a very pleasant prospect for us to sit there until it should please them to carry us on. At length after some deliberation among themselves, they agreed to carry us for a dollar each, and away we went, greatly enjoying the fun.

On reaching the village at which we had before halted, they set us down again in order to rest themselves, and tried every means to persuade us to alight, and take some tea; but we were rather too old travellers to be taken in by such tricks, and continued to keep possession of our chairs. At length, finding they could not get rid of us, they made up their minds to carry us on the whole way, and trotted off nimbly enough. The easy, measured step of the Chinese bearers, who carry the poles upon their shoulders, one on either side, with a cross piece joining them together, and resting upon the back of the neck, is by no means disagreeable; and considering the rudeness of the construction of the chairs, we were surprised that the motion was so pleasant.

Presently we fell in with the other party which had been desired to follow us, and received a very good account of the civility they had met with from the people. Indeed, they stated

that they had overtaken a respectable-looking Chinaman on horseback, as they were marching along, who, seeing a young midshipman of the party, among so many stout men, very gallantly dismounted, and offered him the use of his horse, intimating by his manner and gestures that he was too young to walk so far. This little piece of attention was the more remarkable, as horses are seldom used by the Chinese, and are usually only found in the hands either of people of rank or of great wealth. On reaching a road which branched off to the left, the polite gentleman remounted his horse and disappeared.

At length we reached the beautiful cocoa-nut wood near the river, and refreshed ourselves with the milk of the fresh nuts, under the shade of the trees, which were here growing to a very great height. Having regained our boats, we found a number of Chinese collected round them, but no violence or insult had been offered; indeed, the peasants had brought down fowls and ducks for sale. It was now almost sunset, and the tide was just beginning to turn, so that we descended the river rapidly, and, as we emerged from it into the lagoon, it was christened Hall's River, with our last glass of cherry-brandy, a little of which we had taken with us for the journey. As it was still nearly high-water, the appearance of the lagoon was much more striking than it had been in the morning, and we could see plenty of game coming out of the woods, to feed upon the little green patches at the foot of the hills. But not a single human habitation could be discovered. We soon reached the steamer again, and instantly getting under way, proceeded out of the lagoon, or Inner Harbour, as it is called upon the Admiralty chart.

It should here be remarked, that the entrance to the outer harbour or *basin* of Yin-lin-kan, as laid down in the chart, is much too broad, and the bay too open; at least, such is the impression from what we remember of the very *moderate* breadth of the entrance, and of the appearance of the basin when inside of it. There was a heavy swell outside, the result of the strong breezes which had prevailed for several preceding days.

Captain Hall now stood across the Gulf of Tonquin, towards the coast of Cochin China, which we kept in sight all the way down. On the 29th we ran into the large and beautiful basin, called by Horsburgh, Phuyen Harbour, in latitude 13° 23′ N., with a view to ascertain its character and capabilities, which could be done with very little detention. The importance of an accurate knowledge of the best harbours for ships to run into, in the China Sea, in case of need, cannot be overrated now that there is every probability of a great increase in the number of merchant ships passing up and down. The great Phuyen Basin,

which in fact contains *three* excellent harbours, is accurately described by Horsburgh. We steamed round it in all directions, and were struck with its beauty and the perfect shelter it affords. The soundings were very regular, from twelve, to five and a quarter, and four and a half fathoms. The Buoy Rock, which is the only danger, is distinctly seen above water, at ebb-tide, looking precisely what its name indicates. As we came out again at high-water, it was found covered. It lies about half way up the first or outer harbour, at the distance of half to one-third of a mile from the northern shore.

Just at the entrance to this harbour, near its southern shore, stands the high, abrupt, rocky island, called Nest Island, which, although there is deep water close in, on either side, has a coral reef running out from its western extremity. The three harbours are, first, Xuandai, on the southern shore, round Nest Island; next, Vunglam, on the north-western side, about a mile and a half further up; and lastly, Vungchao, at the end of the basin.

Nothing can exceed the beauty and security of the spot, shut in on all sides, like a large lake, the shores being bold and mountainous, but not much wooded. Further inland, to the westward, the country appeared fertile and well cultivated, but not laid out in terraces along the hill sides, as in most parts of China-Proper, but divided into small fields with hedge-rows round them, putting one very much in mind of some parts of England.

We were disappointed in not finding a town of some size along the shores of the basin; but, as the soil is there generally poor, while there was evidently a rich valley a little in the rear to the westward, we concluded that it was probably situated in that more favoured spot. There were, however, two hamlets, one on either side of the extremity of the bay, situated in the midst of a fine cocoa-nut wood; and in a little bay in the east corner we found a very extensive burial-ground, with a number of large tombs, and a small chapel. We could learn nothing of its history, but concluded that it was the cemetery for wealthy people belonging to some town not far distant. We landed, and rambled among the curious tombs, different in appearance from those either of the Chinese or the Malays. There were a few fishermen's huts in the neighbourhood, but the people were poor and ill-clothed, and their features far from prepossessing. The men were small in stature, and in every respect an inferior-looking race to the inhabitants of Hainan.

A vast number of large, well-built fishing-boats were sailing about the great basin, very sharp at both ends, and of great

length. They carry an enormous sail, very broad, but not high, cut square, yet not like a lug-sail. It was made of a strong kind of grass cloth. As this powerful sail must, of course, endanger the safety of their long narrow boat, they adopt a curious mode of counterbalancing it, so as to keep the boat upright. A long, straight, stout spar is run out to windward from the middle of the vessel, and upon this three or four men (more or less, according to the strength of the wind) crawl out, and sit upon the extremity, dangling their legs over the water in a manner not to be envied. From long habit they sit there very contentedly for a length of time, almost entirely naked, and appear to think that no other kind of ballast is needed. If the wind were suddenly to change, they would, probably, get a ducking, by their own weight bearing down the boat with such a lever. But, as the monsoon blows pretty regularly here, they are not afraid of sudden changes. If they have occasion to put about, the men all come in first, and then rig out the spar upon the opposite side, crawling out upon it again as before. Two or three better kind of vessels were seen, differently rigged, something like our lattine-rig, and they looked and sailed remarkably well. The people did not appear at all afraid of the steamer, although they looked on in evident wonder, as she moved so steadily through the harbour.

The same afternoon we pursued our voyage; and on the 5th of January the Nemesis steamed into Singapore, decorated with a number of Chinese flags, and was cheered by several of the transports as she passed. The next day, nearly all the rest of the squadron set sail again, leaving the Nemesis to follow, as soon as her fuel was completed.

On the evening of the 12th the Nemesis again pursued her voyage; and on the 14th, at daylight, anchored in the shallow open bay of Malacca. The view of the town and coast from the bay is striking; there is a *Malay look* about it, and much less of the European character than in Singapore. There is a rich flat belt of country along the coast, thickly covered with cocoa-nut trees; while a hill adjoining the town, upon which there is the ruin of a church, with a flag-staff, and a saluting battery, forms a marked point in the prospect. Everything at Malacca distinctly indicates the "tempora mutantur" of by-gone days; the dull stillness of the town, the mixture of Dutch countenances, modified by long descent in a tropical country, the *fallen-off* look of the public buildings, point out the little value which is set upon Malacca in the present day. The kind attentions of the governor, Mr. Salmond, an old friend of Captain Hall's, induced us to pay a short visit a few miles into the interior, where we obtained a splendid view of a fine, rich, well-wooded, and well-watered

country. We were evidently in the favoured regions of the spice plantations.

We had just arrived in time to disturb a nest of Malay pirates, who had landed the day before, had robbed one of the neighbouring villages, killing or wounding several of the inhabitants. The steamer's boats were immediately sent away manned and armed, at the governor's request, and accompanied by a large hired boat, carrying a strong body of police. A search-warrant had been obtained for the purpose of examining two or three small junks which had recently come into the bay, but nothing suspicious was found on board. The boats then pulled off towards two islands several miles distant, where it was thought the pirates might lie concealed; but nothing was discovered. The matter was then left entirely in the hands of the police, and the steamer's boats returned

The same evening we again pursued our voyage towards Penang, or Prince of Wales's Island. Our course was taken as close along shore as possible; and, instead of passing through the narrow channels between the sands in the middle of the straits, we pushed through the Calam Strait, just above the Parcellar Hill, and found the passage broad and safe, the shores on both sides being bold and well wooded.

On the 17th we reached the truly beautiful island of Penang, a spot which becomes the more striking the oftener it is seen, and anchored in a small sandy bay close to the fort, inside the Dido, 20, under the command of the Hon. Capt. Keppel. Enough has already been said of this lovely spot in the early part of this work. Its clean and regular town, its excellent roads, beautiful villas, and rich plantations of spices of all kinds, and of cocoanuts, added to the picturesque beauties of the landscape on every side, cannot be forgotten by any who have visited them.

The hospitality and good feeling of the inhabitants of Penang cannot be exceeded. There is a considerable population of Chinese upon the island, (in addition to Malays, Indians, and Europeans,) who, besides being excellent mechanics, enter largely into the cultivation of spice trees, and often become not only honest and useful tenants, but actual proprietors of small plantations. It is worth remembering, that, from its geographical position, there is not half an hour's difference in the rising and setting of the sun at Penang throughout the whole year.

There is one curiosity in natural history very common on this island, which I had never seen elsewhere—viz., the trumpet beetle. Although not large itself, it has a long trumpet-shaped proboscis, or kind of feeler, from which it emits so loud and long a sound, among the woods by the mountain's sides, that you can

scarcely believe that any insect could possibly send forth such a tone. It gave one more the idea of the sound which a bird might utter, such, for instance, as that of the bell-bird, or the whip-bird, or the laughing jackass (vernacularly called) met with in New South Wales. One of the largest trees on record is to be found at Penang. It is one hundred and thirty feet high to the *first branch*, and thirty-six feet round in the largest part.

After a few days' detention at Penang, to complete some necessary repairs, and to take in coal, we bade adieu, with many regrets, to that lovely island, and coasted along all the way towards the entrance of the Moulmein river, at the mouth of which we found the Endymion at anchor, having Sir Hugh Gough and staff on board. Having delivered the despatches and letter-bags, we proceeded up the river in charge of a pilot, for the purpose of getting coal. The river was found broader and deeper than had been expected, well wooded on both sides; indeed, a great quantity of valuable timber is exported from Moulmein, and large ships are built there extremely well and cheap. The H. C. steamer, Tenasserim, was built in this river after the model of the Queen, built in England, and has answered extremely well.

Two of H. M. brigs were at anchor off the town, besides two small vessels and gun-boats belonging to the East India Company. Moulmein was garrisoned by a force of about 4,000 men, including one European regiment. It is the frontier town of Burmah, on its southern side, lying just opposite to Martaban, where it was said the Burmese had collected a large army just before we made peace with China; probably with no friendly feeling towards us. The town itself is in its infancy, but has made great progress within the last few years. There is a magnificent view of the surrounding country, and of the river both above and below, and also of the distant town of Martaban, from the top of a high conical hill, upon which are several curious temples, built after the Chinese fashion. The town must be considered rather as a large frontier military station than as a place of trade, and the soil is generally poor and sandy.

By the kindness of the Governor, who politely lent Capt. Hall some of the Commissariat elephants, we were enabled to make an excursion to see the very remarkable caves, distant about fifteen miles from the town. We had to ascend the river in a boat for some miles, when we landed on the opposite side, where the elephants were in readiness for us. The sun was excessively hot, so that umbrellas were necessary. As elephant-riding was quite new to us, and the animals themselves, moreover, were only accustomed to carry heavy burdens, it was no easy matter to mount them at all, even when they had knelt down. At last, how-

ever, we contrived to scramble up by the tail, making use of it as a rope.

After a ride of seven or eight miles, we came to several detached wooded rocks of great height, standing up on the surface of an extensive plain, unbroken by any other objects. They were covered more or less with wood, from the base to the summit, the trees growing to a great height among the crags, in a manner which made you wonder how the soil in which they grew could have come there. The caverns were very large and deep, showing a beautiful stalactitic formation. The effect was extremely beautiful when lighted up with blue lights, putting one very much in mind of the blue grotto on the island of Capri, in the bay of Naples; indeed, you could fancy that the sea had only recently retired from these caverns, so fresh was the appearance of their walls. In the cooler part of the evening we returned to our boats, and soon reached Moulmein again.

On the following day, having completed the necessary quantity of coal, we descended the river, and steered our course direct for Calcutta, which we reached on the 6th of February. We passed a great many of our old friends, the transports, waiting for tugs to tow them up, and arrived off Fort William, just at the most fashionable hour for the promenade along the river side. The steamer was decorated with numerous Chinese flags, and several officers had come up from on board the transports, who were anxiously looking out for their friends upon the banks. Having passed quite up above the fort among all the shipping, we returned down towards the principal landing-place, attracting the attention and curiosity of thousands, who were collected to look at the Nemesis, of which they had heard so much. A salute was fired by Capt. Hall, which was returned by the fort; and there at length quietly lay the Nemesis, resting from all her toils.

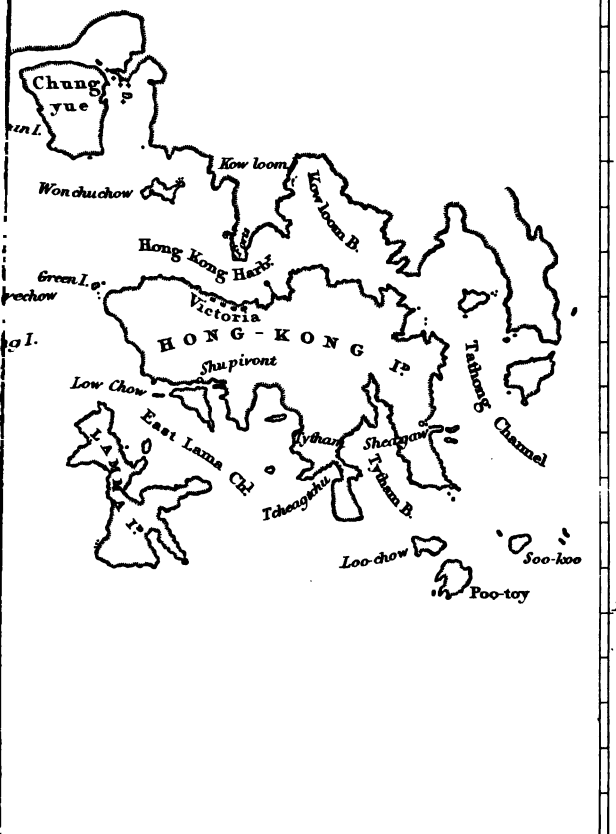
Of Calcutta, the City of Palaces, and of the kindness and hospitality of its inhabitants, little need be said. Great honours were done to those who had fought for their country, in China and Affghanistan; and balls, dinners, illuminations, and fêtes of all kinds were the order of the day.

The last service performed by the Nemesis, under her old commander, was to convey Lieutenant-General Sir Hugh Gough and his staff up the river to Barrackpore (to review the garrison stationed there; including the Bengal Volunteers recently returned.)

We may now bid adieu to the Nemesis. Sufficient evidence has been given of the vast utility of iron steamers of *moderate* size, in service upon an enemy's coast. The danger which some

Part of the

CANTON RIVER



Isaac Purdy Sculp.

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

ıve apprehended from the rusting of the rivets by which the on plates are fastened together, or from their *starting*, through ıe concussions to which the vessel may be liable, was proved ı be almost totally unfounded. The corrosion of her bottom ın be prevented to a great extent, by constantly painting it ith red lead—an operation which is much facilitated by the ıse and safety with which a flat-bottomed iron vessel can be ıid ashore. It must not be forgotten, however, that barnacles dhere more readily and firmly to an iron vessel, than they do ı one coppered over.

At Calcutta, the Nemesis was docked and examined, before eing sent round to Bombay for a thorough repair. She was ronounced to be in a perfectly fit state to perform the voyage, vithout risk; and she ultimately arrived safely at Bombay.* 'here the Nemesis was docked; and the following extract f a letter, dated Bombay, June 19, 1843, will surprise those vho are unacquainted with the durability of iron steamers:—

'The Nemesis has been for some time past in our docks, and have carefully examined her. She displays, in no small degree, the advantages of iron. Her bottom bears the marks of ıaving been repeatedly ashore; the plates are deeply indented n many places, in one or two to the extent of several inches. She has evidently been in contact with sharp rocks, and one part of her keel-plate is bent sharp up, in such a way as I could not believe that *cold* iron could bear; indeed, unless the iron had been extremely good, I am sure it would not have stood it without injury. Her bottom is not nearly as much corroded as I expected to have found it, and she is as tight as a bottle."

* 'ne day before Captain Hall's departure from Calcutta, for England, he was invited to a splendid entertainment in the Town-hall, by his officers, who presented him with a pair of epaulettes; and his gallant crew, who had so long and faithfully sailed with him, presented him with a sword.

THE END.

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